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Ideologies of the Everyday: Public Space, New Urbanism, and The Political Unconscious of Bus Rapid Transit

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Ideologies of the Everyday: Public Space, New Urbanism, and The Political Unconscious of Bus Rapid Transit

by

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Dedication

To my grandparents, Stephen and Christine DiMare, who are always with me.

For my Mom and Dad.

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Abstract

Ideologies of the Everyday: Public Space, New Urbanism, and The Political Unconscious of Bus Rapid Transit

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This research uses the recent development of bus rapid transit (BRT) on Cleveland, Ohio's Euclid Avenue corridor as a case-study to explore the links between public transit, public space, and urban planning. Using Fredric Jameson's (1981) method of textual analysis from *The Political Unconscious*, I explore the ways the BRT provides access to a buried class consciousness in the city as well as a "symbolic resolution" between conflicting agendas of development and equity. Contextualizing the new spaces of the BRT using a synthesis of Jameson's (1984) theorization of postmodernism, Mike Davis' (1990) militarization of public space, and Michel de Certeau's (1984) spatial practices, I discuss the ways these spaces are remade by individual users as a vital public space despite the BRT's embedded market ideology and repressive security apparatus. Additionally, I explore what BRT's 'ideology of form' can tell us about the ideology of the dominant paradigm of planning today, New Urbanism, and use it as departure for a closing discussion of Utopian desires in planning.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Even though I grew up and have lived near Cleveland, Ohio nearly all my life, I have never walked much there. Frankly, there was no reason to. Parking was ample and the roads, built for a city of a million which now contained around 400,000, even in heavy traffic were hardly congested. The times I did find myself walking around I always was struck by the emptiness and the complete lack of other people – especially on weekends. It was unsettling, and combined with the deteriorating building stock a former industrial city, it was also sad.

But, standing on a new, raised bus rapid transit (BRT) platform in the center of Euclid Avenue downtown, part of the Euclid Avenue Corridor Project completed in late 2008, these old feelings about the city are gone. On the sidewalk, sitting at outdoor cafes, I could not believe all the people, so many that it felt almost *bustling*, something I never thought possible in Cleveland. As a BRT vehicle (currently called the "HealthLine") pulled up to the platform I joined a substantial stream of boarding riders and grabbed a window seat. Steven Litt, long-time Art & Architecture critic of *The Plain Dealer*, in his column inaugurating the project called riding the HealthLine "a curiously out-of-city experience"[1] – if he means it is a strangely out of Cleveland experience, I agree. However, if he means out-of-city experience generally, I must respectfully disagree. Inside the BRT vehicle there is a din of conversation amongst riders, many of whom obviously know each other. Some are sitting, others prefer to stand and hold onto railings, swaying with alternating acceleration and deceleration of the ride. Every few seconds, the BRT stops and new groups of people hop on, others hop off. Surprisingly, I was able to get around the city for the first time on foot, without ever missing my car.

[1] Steven Litt, "Cleveland's Rebound Rides on the Health Line," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, November 9, 2008), Sunday edition, sec. Sunday Arts.

This is precisely the opposite of an out-of-city experience: for Cleveland, it is a curiously "city experience".

Experience aside, what is largely credited with sparking this renewed interest in the city is a decades-old technology called bus-rapid-transit, or BRT. Despite the fact that BRT has existed in Brazil and Colombia (and in a partial form in Pittsburgh and Los Angeles) since the late 1970's[2], its implementation in Cleveland has drawn national attention, and the city's 'Euclid Corridor' has emerged as the leading example of BRT in the United States[3]. But what makes BRT "the future of public transit"[4], as it has been called, appears to have less to do with its ability to transport people and more to do with its ability to attract the riders and economic development only previously associated with much more costly rail systems. In other words, as a result of the economic growth along the Euclid Corridor, largely credited to the HealthLine, cities all over the country are attempting to implement their own versions. However, implied in the effusive praise of BRT and the type of rider – and the kind of development – it attracts, is an attack on traditional buses and those who make up its ridership.

BRT, then, is an attempt to avoid the stigma currently attached to buses, mainly that they are the transportation mode of the poor, with rail transit being the mode of

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[2] Ryan Holeywell, "Bus Rapid Transit Gaining Traction Despite Concerns," *GOVERNING*, August 2012, http://www.governing.com/topics/transportation-infrastructure/gov-bus-rapid-transit-gaining-traction-despite-concerns.html#next.

[3] See for example Darrin Youker, "Now Boarding the 5:15 Express," *Planning* 77, no. 5 (Jun2011): 34–37; Annie Weinstock, "Do Bus Rapid Transit Right, And It Won't Get Killed," *Next American City*, accessed July 26, 2012, http://americancity.org/daily/entry/do-bus-rapid-transit-right-and-it-wont-get-killed; Holeywell, "Bus Rapid Transit Gaining Traction Despite Concerns"; Jason Hellendrung, "HealthLine Drives Growth in Cleveland," *Urban Land Institute*, July 13, 2012.

[4] Youker, "Now Boarding the 5:15 Express"; Kris Hudson, "The Commute of the Future," *Wall Street Journal*, September 28, 2012, sec. Life & Culture, http://online.wsj.com/article/SB10000872396390444358804578016191463503384.html?mod=ITP_personaljournal_0.

white-collar workers[5]. By designing BRT intentionally to mimic light rail as much as possible in terms of user experience, the hope is that it will become used by "choice riders", the people who own a car but choose to ride public transit, rather than only "captive riders", the people whose only mode of transportation is the bus. This means that BRT is not a functionalist piece of transportation infrastructure, but a space that is designed and branded to attract certain types of users and certain types of surrounding development. In other words, the BRT is coded space; its meaning for society is outside its function. This requires treating the HealthLine as a "text", to be read and interpreted as such, not just a container and transporter of users.

1.1. PUBLIC TRANSIT AS PUBLIC SPACE

But, by strategically altering the space and experience of the bus, to change the make-up of ridership, and to ultimately grow the adjacent land use, at best seems to walk a fine line between the gentrification of public transit and outright elitism. As Michigan University's Joe Grengs notes, "Gains in shifting commuters from cars to transit may actually undermine the goal of providing transit for those without cars"[6]. This shift also undermines federal government transit policy's "explicit social goals" of mass transit to provide equal spatial access to jobs and services to urban residents[7]. In other words, pursuing a singularly economic strategy does not automatically mean it will also continue to meet its existing social goals. Thus, the recent rising tide of support for mass transit will not lift all boats, so to speak. And as we will see, pursuing light, or heavy, rail transit typically comes at the expense of bus transit.

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[5] Amanda Hess, "Race, Class, and the Stigma of Riding the Bus in America," *The Atlantic - Cities*, July 10, 2012, http://www.theatlanticcities.com/commute/2012/07/race-class-and-stigma-riding-bus-america/2510/; Hudson, "The Commute of the Future."

[6] Joe Grengs, "The Abandoned Social Goals of Public Transit in the Neoliberal City of the USA," *City* 9, no. 1 (April 2005): 53, doi:10.1080/13604810500050161.

[7] Ibid.

The erosion of traditional city bus service becomes an even more critical issue if considered as part of the larger changes undergoing traditional public space in general. The past three decades have seen intense debate into the structural changes to public space in the city as a result of globalization, privatization, and local responses these phenomena. On one side of the spectrum are those who believe public spaces are vanishing in the city, while others believe that concurrent with the loss of tradition public space is an explosion of alternative spaces. This period of debate in the U.S. can be considered bookended by the edited collections of Michael Sorkin, *Variations on a Theme Park: The New American City and the End of Public Space* (1991), and Jeffrey Hou, *Insurgent Public Space: Guerrilla Urbanism and the Remaking of Contemporary Cities* (2010). As these studies show, for better or worse, traditional public spaces are being stripped away, but their social function in society nevertheless needs an outlet, thus new spaces are emerging to take their place.

These functions of public space, which will be further unpacked in the following chapters, of providing the space for social interaction, political engagement, and the unvarnished experience of difference can be found in Cleveland's HealthLine. Crucially, its riders are able to overcome its intended purpose as a space designed for economic development to remake it as a community space.

The basic assumption, then, of my research and analysis is that bus rapid transit in Cleveland, through its vehicles, platforms, and the resulting pedestrian improvements on Euclid Avenue, should be considered simultaneously part of the erosion of traditional public transit and an expansion of public space in the city (these spaces are 'new' in the sense that the BRT is a new phenomenon in the United States). BRT, considered as a public space, has much to tell us about the types of public spaces being made available to residents, and how residents, through their use and activity of the space, are themselves

responding. Importantly, this consideration also necessitates critically examining the paradigms of city planning itself, since its theorists and practitioners are vital to the production of public space.

1.2. CLEVELAND AS A CASE-STUDY OF U.S. PLANNING PARADIGMS

The selection of Cleveland, Ohio for a case-study into planning theory and practice, and contemporary public space production, may seem like a strange one at first glance. Admittedly, I had no intention at the start of this inquiry to examine anything beyond BRT and how it was perceived and used by riders. However, after I completed my data collection and began looking for connections and patterns, I was struck by several things. The first way I was surprised was how the city has historically been at the vanguard of planning ideas. As we shall see, whether being the first to embrace a theory or implementing a strategy in unprecedented ways, Cleveland has experimented with the discipline of master planning with an enthusiasm few other places in the U.S. can match.

Second, as touched on above, the recent experiment into transforming public buses into bus rapid transit is all too similar to the ways traditional public space has been transformed from places like parks, plazas, and sidewalks to shopping malls and organized consumer spectacles (Baltimore's Inner Harbor, San Antonio's River Walk, etc). In other words, sites which were formerly open and accessible to anyone are now highly formalized, securitized, and accessible to only those able to afford the experience. Both transformations privilege the economic functions of society over all others and in this manner are linked. They are spaces which serve social and political goals (to name just two) over economic goals. Public transit users, like users of public space, cannot be discriminated against based on subjective categories like appearance, for example, there are no "management reserves the right to refuse service to anyone…" signs. In this way,

it became clear to me to study these changes as part of the same concept, that of public space.

Third, the more I examined the structural changes to public space, the more convinced I became that the way to understand them was through looking at how the market influences the production and subtraction of public space, and how users of the city respond. Now, again, Cleveland, Ohio, a shrinking city part of the deindustrialized Rust Belt would not seem the place to go to study the effects of market production. However, as I found, precisely the opposite is true. The belief in market mechanisms to return the city to greatest is nearly uncontested in the city today, and it is this hegemonic nature of the narrative in Cleveland that it so distressing. The narrative of "growth" is the response to every problem, every crisis: city policy must be geared towards attracting jobs (i.e. business), residents will soon follow. The city has been declining in population for over six decades, yet the strategy to reverse the tide of population loss has remained (with a couple notable exceptions in the 1970's) the same: economic growth. Over the past 60 years, plan after plan has been put forward each of which promising to grow the downtown core and turn the city around. The HealthLine (i.e. the Euclid Corridor Project) is no different, except that the city has built something that makes a very real improvement in the lives of its remaining residents, the forgotten, the excluded in this constant narrative of growth (which is always appealing to, and making concessions for, those who are specifically not living in the city).

In this manner, this super-narrative of growth marginalizes all those not on board as those who are against the city, and those who do not immediately celebrate the latest plan billed to attract people and business to the city are met with incredulity: "How could you not want the city to return having a million people, to return to the days when Cleveland was the envy of the nation, when millionaires lined Euclid Avenue"? Of

course, the narrative of growth, and those who subscribe to it, is not something that is misguided *per se*, but the city's unwavering strategy even in the face of its staggering failure is. This singular, monolithic focus on economic and population growth, and its ability to marginalize dissent, has led to the cooptation of nearly all potential institutional opposition: from community development corporations to the religious establishment[8].

1.3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND CHAPTER SUMMARIES

This study aims to better understand the following questions: (1) if we look at public transit as public space, what can this formulation tell us about bus rapid transit – a new transportation strategy gaining national attention? (2) Further, are there planning paradigms which link transportation and economic development that we can point to as driving these changes? (3) Finally, what are some of the factors influencing planning, and more generally, the production of urban space, that can be seen as a potential cause? In other words are there changes taking place in society itself concurrent to these changes in public space and public transit? These are several of the initial questions this study seeks to better understand, and as such, provide the points of departure for the analyses contained in this thesis.

Chapter 2 represents an attempt to build a vocabulary that one might need in order to start such an inquiry. In this chapter I will discuss and attempt to provide a way of understanding public space and the recent debates regarding its transformation. Next, I will broaden the topic to one which will provide an understanding of some of the influences of current (and recent past) urban spatial productions, more generally. Considered through the lens of postmodernity, I seek to understand how cultural, political, and economic functions of society effect the way we use the spaces of the city.

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[8] Jordan S. Yin, "THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT INDUSTRY SYSTEM: A Case Study of Politics and Institutions in Cleveland, 1967–1997," *Journal of Urban Affairs* 20, no. 2 (1998): 137–157, doi:10.1111/j.1467-9906.1998.tb00415.x.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology I have used to inquire into these phenomena as well as how I have chosen to analyze my findings. Given the complex rhetoric surrounding the production of BRT both in Cleveland as well as nationally, we are justified in reading BRT as a text, I argue, because it has been shown to be highly coded through the use of branding and "BRT-heavy" features meant to distinguish it from buses, as part of its marketing for the purposes of fostering economic development. These things must then be placed in context: historically, socially, and politically. I have borrowed a method of textual analysis from the Marxist literary critic Fredric Jameson to provide us with just such a framework.

Chapter 4 provides historical background on the city of Cleveland, Ohio with a focus on the planning responses to larger cultural, political, and economic changes happening in society that have affected the city's spatial productions. Beginning with the city's founding, I will bring the reader though Cleveland's rise and decline as an industrial powerhouse. I close this section with an analysis of the importance of Euclid Avenue for the city and a description of its current role as a Bus Rapid Transit Corridor.

Chapter 5 represents the core of my analysis of the city's Euclid Avenue Corridor. In this section I will identify the major contradictions that are apparent in Cleveland, socially and economically, as a result of the production of the "HealthLine". I begin with a close reading of the new spaces of the corridor and close with an analysis of the city's conflicting agendas, and argue they represent an unconscious class conflict apparent beneath surface argument over Cleveland's future development.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion of this study. Here I will briefly summarize the key points of the previous sections and close with a discussion of the implications of this analysis for planning theory and practice, focusing in particular on weighing the benefits of Utopian thinking for planning, and also therefore, for society.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

This literature review will contextualize the urban space of Cleveland by providing a critical review of the concept of public space and how the term will be used in this thesis, with a focus on the debates of the last 20 years over its retrenchment. I argue that Fredric Jameson's theorizations of postmodernism, coupled with Mike Davis's conception of the "militarization" of public space, can provide a foundation for understanding the social, cultural, and economic factors behind spatial production in the contemporary city as well as the consequences for users of public space. Once I have established how the concept of public space will be used in this thesis I will then show how public transit – specifically buses – can be characterized as public space. Then, drawing from Michel de Certeau's concept of spatial practices, I will problematize theories of postmodern space that do not account for what he calls the "tactics" of users and their ability to remake public space. Finally, I will examine the dominant paradigms that have informed planning in the city of Cleveland focusing on the emphasis each of these places on public space.

2.1. The Purpose, Constitution, and Representations of Public Space

The concept of 'public space' can be traced back to the ancient Greek *agora*, which served as both marketplace and the venue for debates over democracy and citizenship[9]. While being multi-use, it was the agora's capacity for political expression that was essential to its makeup and separated it from other open spaces[10]. However, appeals to the ancient origins of public spaces have also led to a critique of public space

[9] William Hollingsworth Whyte, *City: Rediscovering the Center*, 1st ed (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 339.
[10] Don Mitchell, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space* (Guilford Press, 2003), 130.

as being romanticized[11]. Those definitions of public space which appeal to the freedom to spatially access it and its function as spaces of social interaction, for example, often draw on what public space should be, not on the purpose it actually served. Lofland (1985), defines public space as the "city's streets, parks, its places of public accommodation", "the areas of the city to which…all persons have *legal access*"[12] (italics in original). Young (1990) adds that when using this openly accessible public space "one should expect to encounter and hear from people who are different, [and have different] social perspectives, experiences, and affiliations"[13]. But, as Lees (1995) notes, "these concepts are both slippery and interrelated"[14] and they mix what defines public space from what it should provide a society. In other words, as one tries to separate the purpose of public space from what constitutes it, it becomes nearly impossible to prevent the intertwining of the two all over again. Therefore, these debates often make appeals to the larger societal body, the public itself, and what it needs to function in a democracy. Thus, as Lees observes, critical investigations of the public space debate often "turn on notions of it constituting" democratic space and providing the physical location of the public sphere[15].

This idea of a public sphere takes the definition of 'public space as legally accessible space' a step further. The philosopher Jürgen Habermas conceived of the existence of a societal 'public sphere' in which public space is centered as the "material

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[11] Ibid., 131.
[12] Lyn H. Lofland, *A World of Strangers: Order and Action in Urban Public Space* (Waveland Pr Inc, 1985), 19.
[13] Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1990), 119.
[14] Loretta Lees, "Ageographia, Heterotopia, and Vancouver's New Public Library," *Journal of Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 15 (1997): 322.
[15] Ibid.

location" for social interactions and political activities to occur[16]. In essence, public space offers a physical place for democratic society. This completes the framework on which many of the definitions of public space are built, such as those cited above by Lofland and Young, in reference to what has come to be called 'traditional' public space, with parks, plazas, libraries, streets making up the bulk of these places in society.

But, as many authors point out, the idealized public space in this normative description bears little relation to public space as experienced by women, ethnic or racial minorities, and the marginalized throughout history. The legal right to access matters little if the constructions of society are in of themselves exclusive[17]. And, as has happened quite often in America, public spaces can also become the sites for undemocratic repression and control, as Kirby (2008) notes with the historical example of town squares as used for public lynchings[18]. Of course, one does not have to go back in history to find examples of this – recent laws passed in cities targeting certain types of street and sidewalk behavior[19] (so-called "sit/lie" ordinances) make it difficult to argue that public space is becoming more inclusive.

However, at the same time, Mitchell (1995) finds the articulation of an idealized public space essential for the continued struggle of inclusion into the active, political 'public'[20]. He argues Women, Blacks, Gays and Lesbians have all used this normative vision of the 'public' and 'public space' successfully in their ongoing struggles for greater inclusion and representation in democratic society. And "each (partially)

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[16] Don Mitchell, "The End of Public Space? People's Park, Definitions of the Public, and Democracy," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 85, no. 1 (March 1995): 116.
[17] Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?".
[18] Andrew Kirby, "The Production of Private Space and Its Implications for Urban Social Relations," *Political Geography* 27, no. 1 (January 2008): 74–95, doi:10.1016/j.polgeo.2007.06.010.
[19] Malia Wollan, "Berkeley, Targeting Homeless, Proposes Ban on Sidewalk Sitting," *The New York Times*, October 19, 2012, sec. U.S.
[20] Mitchell, "The End of Public Space?".

successful struggle for inclusion in 'the public' conveys to other marginalized groups the importance of the ideal as a point of political struggle"[21]. What public space represents for society: inclusivity, democracy, political expression, then, is less problematic than how it is defined and what exactly constitutes it. While a definition of the concept of public space as based on an idealized representation may not provide an accurate description of any public place that ever existed, it does give society motivation to make public space live up to its lofty promise of inclusivity.

Clearly then, public space is a complex and highly politicized subject that confronts researchers, policy experts, and theorists seeking to define and address it with a number of deeply challenging and perhaps unanswerable questions. For example, who is included in this public - everyone all the time? Does this 'public' exist in reality, or is it just a normative vision? Can it take into account the uneven experiences people and groups have when venturing into the 'public sphere'? However, to paraphrase Fredric Jameson, this issue of having unanswerable questions in society is only a problem if we cease attempting to answer them[22]. What we can see from debates regarding the constitution and representation of public space is how quickly notions of democracy, collectivity (gathering), and freedom arise. While we may not ever have firm guidelines over what exactly defines public space, it is in the debate itself that we can see what is at stake for society to provide the places that enable these issues to be raised.

Despite the absence of a concrete, universally accepted definition of public space, there is a consensus apparent in contemporary literature that the role of traditional public

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[21] Ibid., 117.

[22] Fredric Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future: The Desire Called Utopia and Other Science Fictions* (London ; New York: Verso, 2005), 5.

space – i.e. parks, plazas, libraries, streets – is being restructured along with the rest of the landscape of the postmodern city.

2.2. THEORIZATIONS OF POSTMODERN SPACE

The late 1970's and continuing through the 1980's witnessed an explosion of theory centered on attempts to understand the rapid changes underway in American society. These debates have forever altered the way we think about the way space is produced – particularly within cities. The theorizations prompted by the radical changes occurring in the urban landscape, primarily the rapid urban sprawl of the American West, came to be housed under the heading of "postmodern". While the term today has perhaps been so overused that it may no longer hold meaning, or is, as the philosopher Slavoj Žižek argues at best "already half-obsolete"[23], I argue it is because the term lacks real meaning now that we should return to it by way of the opening debates surrounding the concept. For it is in postmodernism's initial theorizations that we are provided the vocabulary and analytical lens to begin to make sense of the highly contested nature of public space in contemporary cities.

Fredric Jameson's "Postmodernism or, the Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism" (1984) possibly provides the seminal analysis of the transformation in the American urban landscape. This restructuring of the built environment of cities, for Jameson, can only be accurately theorized in conjunction with an accompanying theory of society's evolution as a whole. To that end he proposes a synthesis of economist Ernest Mandel's theory of "late capitalism", i.e. a new stage in the capitalist mode of production emerging post-WWII, with the so-called 'break' from the modernist movement in contemporary

[23] Slavoj Žižek, "The Architecture Parallax," in *The Political Unconscious of Architecture: Re-Opening Jameson's Narrative*, ed. Nadir Lahiji, Ashgate Studies in Architecture Series (Farnham, Surrey ; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2011), 258.

art, architecture, and literature. Jameson argues that this new stage of capitalism combined with this stylistic cultural break, provides the framework for the emergence of a new, postmodern, period of history.

Rather than attempting to assign a chronology to the transition taking place during this period, Jameson defers to the stages of capitalist development outlined in Mandel's *Late Capitalism* (1972). Mandel defines these stages as historical "moments", including market capitalism, monopoly or the stage of imperialism, and finally, late capitalism (what has now come to be known as globalization)[24]. The use of the term 'moments' is important, as it does not preclude other conflicting or competing stages from existing simultaneously alongside it. Jameson, despite offering a periodizing hypothesis (which tend to present history in a potentially deterministic and homogenous way), allows for the fact that it cannot account for every aspect of transition at the same time. In other words, the how and why of the postmodern break are privileged over the when, in his theorization. This synthesis also gives the concept the necessary flexibility to account for more than just a style or form, thus, the emergent postmodernism does not wholly cancel the older forms of modernism, it merely refers to dominant stage in society[25].

This new postmodernism, as paired with Mandel's "late capitalism" (although Jameson prefer to call it "multinational capitalism"), represents "the purest form of capital yet to have emerged, [resulting in] a prodigious expansion of capital into hitherto uncommodified areas"[26]. A direct consequence of this expansion can be witnessed in the rise of the so-called culture industry. The mass production of culture, privileging a kitschy "aesthetic populism" typified by B-movies, airport paperbacks, and the

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[24] Fredric Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," in *Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism* (Duke University Press, 1991), 35.
[25] Ibid., 6.
[26] Ibid., 36.

architecture of Robert Venturi (Learning from Las Vegas), has led to the "effacement of the frontier between high culture and, so-called mass or commercial culture"[27], or what has come to be called "pop" culture. No longer, for example, do painting, literature, and higher education exist on a societal plane insulated from the market (broadly speaking, as the 'arts' and 'humanities'), they now must compete as products – priced, advertised, and packaged to compete with all other commodities. In effect, the "cultural sphere" as Herbert Marcuse termed it, once a previously semi-autonomous area of society, "has now been destroyed by the logic of late capitalism"[28].

The complete assimilation of culture into capitalism, and capitalism into hitherto untouched areas of society, becomes the defining feature of postmodernism. In short, Jameson writes, "aesthetic production today has become integrated into commodity production"[29]. Because of this integration, he argues, it is only by analyzing the period's emerging forms of culture production that we can begin to track the changes to society as a whole.

Therefore, what had previously been theorized as the "society of the spectacle" (Guy Debord), the "consumer society" (Jean Baudrillard), and the "post-industrial society" (Daniel Bell) can now be seen as early attempts to grapple with a paradigmatic shift in logic of capitalism itself – from one based on mechanized production to one of technological reproduction[30]. The past representations of production – the Fordist assembly lines, the railway networks, the automobile – have given way to the stationary screens of the computer, the television, and other technologies of image reproduction, producing what Baudrillard theorized as the logic of the "simulacrum": a perfect copy

[27] Ibid., 2.
[28] Ibid., 48.
[29] Ibid., 4.
[30] Ibid., 36.

without an original[31]. While the cultural production of the industrial age created films, paintings, literature, and buildings designed to represent a new, motion-obsessed culture, Jameson argues that the postmodern shift, with its associated technologies of reproduction has led to previously unheard of problems of representation. The communication networks linking the globe, for example, pose a much greater challenge of representation than the freeway or railroad networks did for the moderns. As the mechanisms of reproduction reach the level of the global, the postmodern subject is increasingly baffled by the scale, with extremes at both macro (ex. distance covered) and micro (ex. information technology) levels. This process comes also to serve as an ideal metaphor for the now unimaginable "whole world system of present-day multinational capitalism"[32]. The problem of representation has, as we shall see, troubling political consequences, as a society unable to create ways of understanding its production modes becomes completely dependent on that mode due to its inability to conceive of alternatives.

Like past periods of history, postmodernism has developed a separate philosophical framework, seen in the post-structuralist theory emerging in the 1960's. Post-structuralism has heavily influenced the social theories of postmodernism, and it has therefore developed a preference for deconstruction (Derrida) and a "skepticism towards master narratives" (Lyotard) of the older hermeneutic models of psychoanalysis, semiotics, and especially, Marxism. These theories, Jameson argues, while providing a welcomed infusion of diverse new theoretical lenses (ex. Feminism, critical race theory, Queer theory), they have also contributed to the loss of any primary interpretive,

[31] Ibid., 37.
[32] Ibid.

theoretical footing from which to base critical inquiries[33]. Combined, this restructuring of production and thought have led to the de-centering, the flattening out (represented by the "depthlessness" of the image), and the fragmentation of the subject in postmodern society[34].

Consequently, the postmodern subject is increasing homogenized by heterogeneity and thus is unable to differentiate itself and develop a personal style, resorting instead to mimicking styles of the past[35]. Film, fashion, literature, architecture, etc. come to rely then on representation in the form of nostalgia, what Jameson calls, "pastiche". Pastiche is similar to the concept of parody, but done without its irony or satire, and in practice becomes "the random cannibalization of all the styles of the past"[36]. Devoid of satire or irony, however, these representations betray the aforementioned "new spatial logic of the simulacrum"[37]; namely, the endless cycle of production and reproduction of glossy, depthless 'surfaces'. In other words, products which lack any meaning outside their status as commodities – the pleasure is in its consumption, not in its historical, political, cultural, or ideological significance. This is made possible because the form of pastiche slowly erases its "referents" (i.e. history which the previous style was associated with) and with it, the "depth" associated with a past cultural creation rooted in the social and political thought of the era. Thus, for example, art deco is no longer an artistic style of the 1930's but a stylistic choice to be deployed by designers at any time and in combination with any other past styles. In its wake, the use of pastiche leaves only an array of glossy texts to interact with other texts, their purpose determined

[33] Ibid., 12.
[34] Ibid., 37.
[35] Ibid., 16.
[36] Ibid., 18.
[37] Ibid.

economically, as "exchange value has been generalized to the point at which the vast history of use value has been effaced"[38]. In the absence of a drive to create a style authentic to the current period, the search for any singular style is deemphasized, and the explosion in the usage of the prefix "neo-" alludes to a culture comforted by the safety of a reified image of the past. Emptied of historical (and thus political) content then, pastiche transmits only style, as Jameson calls it, a "pastness", with all the depthless "glossy qualities of the image" – conveying a '1930s-ness or 1950s-ness' – leading to a stereotyped version of an ideal history[39] and the nostalgia for a past that never existed.

Jameson articulates a new, highly aesthetic language of postmodernism, which by necessity becomes the primary way to track the effects of multinational capital on society (as the older, modernist codes – ideological, political, social – are de-privileged, an analysis of the postmodern must read its privileged forms, at least initially). It is in the production of culture, of art, and most important, of space, the most recent areas of commodification and mass production, that Jameson sees the consequences of postmodernity to be readily grasped; and "[o]f all the arts, it is architecture", and with it the built space of the cities, that is the most privileged aesthetic of postmodernism[40].

The architecture of cities, in other words, has now become so closely tied to land development and speculation that it has a "virtually unmediated relationship" with globalized capital. It is here where we find the most dramatic impact of the integration of commodity production and cultural reproduction for society[41]. Jameson's analyses of new spatial production are articulated through a close reading of a "postmodern building" – the Hotel Bonaventure in downtown Los Angeles – which in turn has important

[38] Ibid., 16.
[39] Ibid., 19.
[40] Ibid., 37.
[41] Ibid., 5.

implications for how we can understand postmodern cities, and public space in postmodern cities. The building required the clearing of an entire district, Bunker Hill, an area with rich and diverse social and cultural history. The Bonaventure substitutes in the place of a neighborhood a massive hotel and shopping mall in a sweeping homogenization of the area, from one made up primarily of residents to one made up of visitors and shoppers. The effect of this and other postmodern buildings creates, Jameson proposes, "something like a mutation in built space itself", space which now "transcend[s] the capacities of the individual human body to locate itself, to organize its immediate surroundings perceptually"[42].

What best characterizes this new built space is not just its effects on those attempting to move around and through it, but its relationship with the city itself. Postmodern spatial productions, while claiming respect for the existing urban fabric (as in contrast to Modernist incursions), actually represents a rejection of the surrounding city, aspiring instead (albeit impossibly) to provide a total space, a complete environment, to attract 'consumers'[43]. Such lengths are deemed necessary in order to attract former residents (whose reasons for leaving the city – crime, proximity of racial minorities – can be carefully controlled in this new space) back to the city, if for no other reason than to shop.

This "hyperspace", as Jameson calls it, also brackets off its referent – the city itself – creating extreme inequalities around it. On one side is the computer-aided perfection evident in the "extraordinary surfaces of the photorealist cityscape" in which, Jameson suggests, "the distorting and fragmenting reflections of one enormous glass surface to the other can be taken as paradigmatic of the central role of reproduction in

[42] Ibid., 44.
[43] Ibid., 40.

postmodernist culture" along with the fluid power of globalized capitalism[44]. Simultaneously, the surrounding city has "deteriorated to a shocking degree", becoming subject matter for the culture industry's photography, film, and TV shows, all fascinated, rather than angered, by the vast "degraded landscape"[45]. Extreme wealth, symbolized by the glossy reflective surfaces of office towers and downtown condominiums, has been created at the expense of politically-abandoned neighborhoods housing the urban poor, while both become the backdrop for endless rounds of culture production (music videos, Hollywood films, TV shows, etc). This is just one of the contradictions Jameson identifies within postmodernity; however, it is the central one for the purpose of my analysis of postmodernism's consequences for public space.

Jameson's theorization of postmodernism provides an overarching framework for understanding the radical restructuration of society, and with it the space of cities. Yet how this affects public space needs further articulation. In his account of the postmodern city, Mike Davis's "Fortress Los Angeles: The Militarization of Urban Space" (1990) unmasks the repressive logic structuring urban redevelopment and provides a graphic analysis of its consequences for public space. From Davis' perspective, beneath the glittering surfaces of the new market-driven hyperspace lies a burgeoning public and private security apparatus designed to militarize city life at the street level[46].

This symbiotic relationship between urban redevelopment and heightened security tactics, feeding off largely white middle class perceptions of urban violence, Davis argues, has pushed traditional public spaces to near extinction[47]. Quoting William H.

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[44] Ibid., 37.
[45] Ibid., 2.
[46] Mike Davis, *City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, Haymarket Series (London ; New York: Verso, 1990), 223.
[47] Ibid., 227.

Whyte, Davis notes that "fear proves itself" and while most violence is contained within relatively small areas of the city, the threat of violence – often only felt by the increased security measures in themselves – becomes justification for further mobilization of the security apparatus, not actual crime[48]. The new apparatus, driven by market demands, uses both high- and low-tech solutions in the effort to construct the "fortifications" of commercial development. For example, Davis cites a Los Angeles developer who advertises a "security-oriented design and management strategy" accompanying his new retail centers[49]. This strategy serves the interest of the developer, who can advertise a protected shopping environment; the insurer, who often requires such measures as a condition of insurance; and lastly, the police department[50]. The rise of "low-wage, non-union" private-sector security, which I would argue cannot be viewed independently from the other encroachments of the market described above, into formerly autonomous areas of society, is fully integrated with public law enforcement via ubiquitous electronic surveillance cameras[51]. This has freed the LAPD from labor-intensive duties such as neighborhood foot patrols and apprehension of retail crime, allowing it to develop into a military-style force "supervising security macro-systems: crime databases, aerial surveillance, jail systems, and paramilitary responses to terrorism and street insurgency"[52].

Meanwhile, property owners in low- and middle-class neighborhoods unable to afford a private security force, and feeding off a fear of crime fed to them by the media and the security apparatus, have begun requesting police barricading of their streets,

[48] Ibid., 224.
[49] Ibid., 242.
[50] Ibid., 243.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid., 251.

allowing entry only with proof of residency, as a way to "deter drug buyers and other undesirables"[53]. While the benefits of the measures taken by this new security apparatus in terms of deterring criminals are unclear, "they are brilliantly successful in deterring innocent outsiders" or those simply wishing to explore the city[54]. It seems then that this strategy for securitization is less concerned with providing security than with removing the places of public gathering – the traditional public spaces like parks, plazas and streets. In Davis's words, it is intended not just to "kill the streets…but to kill the crowd" as well[55].

Similar to the way Jameson's reading of Rob Portman's Bonaventure Hotel articulated the concept of a new postmodern "hyperspace", Davis finds in the architecture of a new public space, the Goldwyn Regional Branch Library designed by Frank Gehry, his conception of the period's growing "militarization" of public space. To many, Gehry has come to exemplify the eclecticism of postmodern architecture, and thus provides Davis an exceptional case study from which to understand the style's, and the period's, representation of public space. It is difficult, Davis argues, when viewing the library not to immediately notice the fifteen-foot high, stucco-concrete "security wall" – replete with metaphorical "sentry post" structures at either end – that surrounds it. In contrast to just a single public entrance, below street level and behind a ten-foot electronic security gate, provided for users[56]. Davis characterizes the building, which is located in a part of the city that is "seedy" but by no means dangerous, as "surely the most menacing library ever built"[57]. Gehry has, in a move interpreted variously as ironic or overtly fascist,

[53] Ibid., 248.
[54] Ibid., 250.
[55] Ibid., 231.
[56] Ibid., 239.
[57] Ibid.

"maximally foreground[ed] the security functions as motifs of [the library's] design"[58]. While his personal motivations can be debated, the intentionality of this design is unmistakably characteristic of the spaces of postmodernism. Like Jameson's "hyperspace", the building, seeking to provide a total environment for its users, dissimulates entrances, instead providing "seams" that deemphasize its connection to the surrounding city[59]. All the more troubling considering this is ostensibly a freely accessible public space.

Viewed from above the library resembles a diplomatic compound modeled from haphazardly stacked children's alphabet blocks; generously read, it might represent a populist rejection of the vacuously cold proportionality of modernism's boxes. At street-level, however, the elements of irony and populism vanish. The height of the concrete wall guarantees only a view of a blank wall and two protruding seven-foot high ceramic tile trapezoids added as "anti-graffiti" measures[60]. Users then are left to discover the single entrance essentially by default: the steel gate provides the only view through to the actual building, while security cameras on each side remind users that modern surveillance technology is not completely forgone in the design. Also, as noted earlier, a characteristic of the high-security, militarization of space is an accompanying market strategy. Thus, while the library's fortress style presents a defensive physical/social space, the pervasive market logic also makes it representative of an offensive economic space. Upon completion, the neighborhood surrounding the library became a prime location for redevelopment, and as Davis wryly notes, "within this strategy, the Goldwyn Library…is a kind of architectural fire-base, a beachhead for gentrification"[61].

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[58] Ibid.
[59] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 40.
[60] Davis, *City of Quartz*, 239.
[61] Ibid., 240.

2.3. THEORIZING PUBLIC TRANSIT AS PUBLIC SPACE

This destruction of public space, as Davis sees it, has therefore forced city users to create new spaces, outside of the traditional public venues of streets, parks, or libraries, to serve as spaces of political and social interaction. In his essay, "The Subway That Ate L.A." he calls attention to the status of city buses as the new sites of confrontation in the ever-expanding capitalist retrenchment of public space[62]. In the early 1990's in Los Angeles, the construction of a new subway line sparked major public outcry upon the discovery that bus fare revenues are being used to pay for operating expenses of the subway. This was done while bus service is being cut to due to supposed lack of funds[63]. To fight against these cuts, riders have organized, forming the Los Angeles Bus Riders Union. The union, which advocates "affordable transit as a fundamental human right"[64] boasts 3,000 dues paying members and 50,000 supporters[65]. Dubbed "factories on wheels" by union organizers, buses have become the "new theatres of confrontation" in the war on public space[66]. While providing a clear example of public space as politicized, contested, democratic space, the buses actually serve an arguably more important social role in society: "Since deindustrialization buses are among the last public spaces where blue-collar people of all races still mingle"[67]. If this is true, then considered in combination with Robert Putnam's landmark study, *Bowling Alone* (2001), which meticulously documents the decline of civic engagement, social group participation, and

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62 Mike Davis, *Dead Cities, and Other Tales* (New York: New Press : Distributed by W.W. Norton, 2002), 186.
63 Ibid., 187.
64 Ibid.
65 "LA Bus Riders Union | The Labor Community Strategy Center," accessed December 2, 2011, http://www.thestrategycenter.org/project/bus-riders-union/about.
66 Davis, *Dead Cities, and Other Tales*, 186.
67 Ibid.

class interaction in America since 1960[68], it highlights the possibility for a much-enlarged socio-political significance of the public space of public buses in the postmodern city.

2.4. USERS OF POSTMODERN SPACE

Missing from both Jameson's and Davis's conceptions of postmodern space, however, is consideration for the individual agency of human beings to adapt and remake their surroundings. While their analyses and critiques tell us much about how the recent restructuring of urban space affects users, we do not get a corresponding analysis of user responses to the very uniform operations of both militarized, and hyper, space. Without such an understanding of space, of its interactions, not only of the structures behind its production (ex. economic, social, legal), an analysis runs the risk of architectural determinism. Published the same year as Jameson's "Postmodernism" essay, Michel de Certeau's *The Practice of Everyday Life* (1984), offers just such a corrective. Addressing what he sees as a mistaken conception of users (i.e. people, both as individuals and within groups) as "commonly assumed to be passive and guided by established rules"[69], de Certeau argues that, to the contrary, what have previously been thought of by researchers and theorists as the banal actions that constitute daily activity (walking, talking, reading, cooking, etc) can be, and in many cases are, highly political acts[70]. These "everyday practices, or 'ways of operating' provide a method to account for what de Certeau identifies as a crucial gap in theories of society, namely, that systems of production – "television, urban development, commerce, etc." – while uniform in their "content" (a building once built, does not change shape depending on the person who enters, for

[68] Robert D. Putnam, *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community*, 1st ed. (Touchstone Books by Simon & Schuster, 2001).
[69] Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), xi.
[70] Ibid., xvii.

example) is not utilized by users uniformly[71]. In other words, individual (and group) experience of the same phenomenon varies and, in fact, "corresponds [with] *another* production, called "consumption"[72] (italics in original).

The key difference between de Certeau's usage of "consumption" and the standard, more economic-centered, usage is that it does not arise out of simply using a product, but "through its ways of *using* the products"[73] (italics in original). These ways of using or "ways of operating", therefore, are crucial to study because they provide an accounting of societal difference: cultural, racial, educational, income-levels, behavioral, etc. Ultimately, in all their diversity, they come to compose an organization of responses to these systems of production which seek to rationalize and managed them[74]. Explicit in de Certeau's articulation of tactics and strategies is an ordering of society into two groups: the producers and the consumers; the strong, and the weak. However, he is aware that this binary is a little too simple; the nuance then is in the vast array of methods used by both producers and consumers in society to achieve their often very disparate goals[75].

This relationship between systems of production and consumer (or user) responses becomes then the distinction between what de Certeau theorizes as "strategies" and "tactics". Strategies are the bureaucratic management technologies, economic apparatuses, and political systems that carve out distinct places in society: a city, a scientific institution, or an enterprise[76]. These strategies allow certain places to isolate a part of the environment as, what he terms, "proper" – which can be thought of as 'official' space, backed up by legal and/or military protections. These places with their

[71] Ibid., xii.
[72] Ibid., xvii.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid., xv.
[75] Ibid., xvii.
[76] Ibid., xix.

own "proper" come to be the technocratic, rationalized landscape of the dominant (or the "strong") culture in society – i.e. the producers[77].

Alternately, "tactics" are the everyday actions of users in these environments, who cannot count on the protections of these strategic "propers". In this fashion, they are temporal actions as opposed to spatial representations. Tactics are often subversive, as they do not use the "proper" in the ways its producers intended, and they are "constantly manipulating events in order to turn them into 'opportunities'" to achieve personal (or group) desires[78]. In other words, tactics are the decisions people make, and in the manner they make them. Crucially, these tactics are not in a Foucauldian "discourse" with the strategies of the strong, but in direct opposition to them[79]. Tactics account for human ingenuity, agency, and the ability of to remake a potentially totalizing space into something other than was intended. Thus, the Goldwyn Library, despite its aggressive architecture and security has not succeeded in warding off "undesirable" users and is today heavily patronized by the city's homeless population[80].

Like the combined characterization of the postmodern subject by Jameson and Davis as fragmented (or rationalized) and controlled, de Certeau argues that because of the pervasiveness of "strategies", consumers are becoming increasingly marginalized in society. On everyday actions such as walking, speaking, and reading, he writes, "this cultural activity of the non-producers of culture, an activity that is unsigned, unreadable, unsymbolized, remains the only one available for all those who nevertheless buy and pay for the showy products through which a productivist economy articulates itself"[81].

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[77] Ibid., xviii.
[78] Ibid., xix.
[79] Ibid.
[80] "Frances Howard Goldwyn - Hollywood Regional Branch Library - About," accessed November 9, 2012, https://plus.google.com/106004685169632208586/about?hl=en.
[81] Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, xvii.

Despite this "universal" marginalizing of consumers in society, however, he argues that user tactics prevent consumers as a group from becoming "homogeneous" and further, they provide a reason for optimism in the face of attempts at domination[82]. Therefore, if cities are as Jameson and Davis suggest, privatizing and militarizing public space, de Certeau sees "tactics" as weapons to respond to the "'actions' and 'engagements' (in the military sense)" of a uniformly produced, or systematized, environment. Tactics, then, de Certeau argues, provide consumers with "various kinds of room to maneuver… situations in which they can exercise their 'art'"[83].

Viewed in this way culture is relational – it is not just produced, but also consumed, and differently at that. Because culture is also situated on both sides of society in ways that business, institutions, and bureaucracies are not (in that it can be produced by both the 'strong' and 'weak'), it then is able to "articulate conflicts and alternately legitimize, displace, or control the superior force"[84]. De Certeau too, like Jameson, privileges culture as a way of not only tracking larger changes in society's power structures and its effect on users, but as the political activity available to users subverting or otherwise reacting to these changes. As de Certeau writes of this type of cultural activity:

it develops in an atmosphere of tensions, and often of violence, for which it provides symbolic balances, contracts of compatibility and compromises, all more or less temporary. The tactics of consumption, the ingenious ways in which the weak make use of the strong, thus lend a political dimension to everyday practices.[85]

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[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.

2.5. PLANNING PARADIGMS AND PUBLIC SPACE

One of the most crucial strategies, in de Certeau's sense, in the production of public space in cities is the practice, and theories of urban planning. Beginning roughly around the late 19th Century as a response to the urban conditions resulting from rapid industrialization, city planning as a discipline can be said to be defined by three movements – Garden City, City Beautiful, and Modernism – and the responses to them.

Ebenezer Howard's Garden City was, in theory, meant to provide a vital outlet for the population demands made on the industrial city. Designed as a series of towns containing roughly 32,000 people, Garden Cities would be structured around a central park with six large boulevards off of which would be concentric rings of land for housing, gardens, and agricultural land. Importantly, it would be sited along rail line, which linked it to the central city and other garden cities by public (rail) transit. Public space and public transit were vital components of Howard's utopia as evidenced by the central park, spacious boulevards, and public transit as its very structuring agents. In practice, however, Howard's Garden City would become the common model of early auto-centric suburban development in America; its central park removed and transit linkages replace by freeway interchanges.

While the Garden City, by encouraging decentralization, was an implicit (if not explicit) turning away from the city, City Beautiful, inspired by the examples of Paris, Versailles, and the "White City" of the 1893 World's Columbian Exhibition in Chicago demonstrated a firm belief in the city to overcome the challenges of industrialization. Rather than attempt to remove people from the city to solve the unsafe, dirty, and crowded urban conditions, the movement defined the problem aesthetically and environmentally, using monumental public spaces as the primary agents of change. Typical of City Beautiful plans were multiple wide, open boulevards radiating from a

monumental public plaza which would be lined with public buildings designed in a uniform style – neoclassicism. The impressiveness of such a space alone would provide the catalyst for city-wide pride, civic engagement, and clean up. Though its goals were admirable, and it had famous practitioners like Daniel Burnham and Frederick Law Olmstead, Jr., only a couple of the many plans put forth in the style were ever implemented.

Lastly, Modernist planning, led by Le Corbusier represented a radical departure from both the historical and contemporary idea of cities outlined above. Le Corbusier's plans (ex. "Contemporary City", "Plan Voisin", "Radiant City") proposed a complete effacement of the existing built environment, considered to be developed chaotically making it congested and inefficient. In the place of the former city Le Corbusier centered giant, cruciform high-rise residence towers in acres of green space, around which a highly ordered grid and radial highway network would ferry automobiles out to factories, more residences in open spaces, and other cities. The stunning originality of Le Corbusier's designs: the clean-lined, unornamented, cubist buildings influenced more by painting than architecture was matched by his equally stunning disregard for city's traditional public spaces. The Garden City and City Beautiful used public space are their primary structuring element; Modernist plans are structured around economic efficiency: housing, transportation, recreation, and work are spaced in order to access them in the quickest way possible. All other aspects of city life are either de-emphasized or eliminated to gain efficiency.

Modernist planning, variously termed "rational planning" or "city-efficient", dominated U.S. cities until the 1960s when critics began challenging the paradigm's ability to provide livable conditions for urban residents. While this certainly meant housing, the critique was also directed at the lack of usable public space available in the

modernist city. In Cleveland, the backlash against modernism led to the nation's only experiment in Advocacy Planning – also known in the Cleveland case as Equity Planning. The difference in Equity Planning's approach was its commitment to urban development that was beneficial to city residents. On its face this approach does not seem radical, but a look at the controversy surrounding the Equity Planning approach public transportation shows that this planning paradigm was indeed considered radical. Led by Planning Director Norman Krumholz, the city's planners attempted to reverse decades of transportation planning which they saw benefitted the suburban user of the city, rather than its residents, by way of its focus on the automobile[86]. Modernist planners had turned the city into a series of nodes (residential, entertainment, cultural) accessible only by stretches of highways and high-speed surface streets surrounded by parking lots. Instead of spending so much on making it easier to get in and out of the city (inter-urban or inter-regional transit), Equity Planners argued that the city needed to spend resident's tax dollars on its resident's need for intra-urban transit instead. This meant a focus on improving the public bus system in the city through fare-reductions and faster, more reliable service. While during its 10-year experiment Equity Planning was not able to accomplish any major victories, one of its important contributions to the discipline of planning was to privilege the needs of people who live in cities, rather than just the physical design of them. For the purposes of this thesis, Equity Planning has also helped identify public transit access and service provision as a potential gap in the planning of public spaces.

If Equity Planning is a backlash against the Modernist ideology that led to a privileging of the suburban user, the current paradigm in planning, New Urbanism,

[86] Norman Krumholz, "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969–1979," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 48, no. 2 (1982): 163–174, doi:10.1080/01944368208976535.

represents a backlash against Modernism concept of urban form that led to the abandonment of the city's public realm. The beginning of New Urbanism is often traced to the 1982 design for the community of Seaside, Florida by Duany Plater-Zyberk & Company, however, it was not until the late 1990's that the concept gained wide acceptance by planners and developers[87]. Planning historian Robert Fishman calls New Urbanism "the unexpected synthesis of Jane Jacobs and Ebenezer Howard"[88]. From Jane Jacobs the doctrine takes a powerful critique of Modernist planning which attempts to separate out the functions of the city into discrete areas. It is rather, by allowing for diversity of uses and incomes at the street-level that successful cities function. Successful cities have "a lively public realm, a carefully designed setting for the theatre of urbanity built around the pedestrian, the sidewalk, and enclosed public spaces"[89]. Furthermore, this vibrancy is created by groups of people, which suggests that increasing population density in the urban area should be encouraged, rather than redistributed through suburbanization. However, much of (sub)urban development had already sprawled in this diffuse manner, thus New Urbanism offered an alternative based on the Howard Garden City. The typical development consisted of sprawling, auto-centric residential neighborhoods of cul-de-sacs, back yards, and no sense of community. A new version of the suburb could be built – walkable, with a mixed-use town center, with front porches, and minimal housing set-backs – centered on regional light rail. Sprawl could be disciplined by these dense communities, connections to traditional urban centers maintained and reinforced by rail, and open space would be preserved[90]. These tenets –

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[87] Robert Fishman, "New Urbanism," in *Planning Ideas That Matter Livability, Territoriality, Governance, and Reflective Practice*, ed. Bishwapriya Sanyal, Lawrence J. Vale, and Christina D. Rosan (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2012), 65–89.
[88] Ibid., 65.
[89] Ibid., 68.
[90] Ibid., 71.

vibrant, walkable streets, rail connections, and mixed use development – provide the basic planning framework as practiced today, often under the banner of Transit-Oriented Development (TOD).

The situation in planning outlined above as it relates to public space would seem to pose a problem when we attempt to fit it back into our narrative of postmodern space and its consequences for contemporary cities. After all, given the framework provided by New Urbanism for several decades now we should be seeing a proliferation of vibrant, diverse urban spaces, not the self-contained, militarized space as theorized by Jameson and Davis (and to a lesser extent de Certeau). However, New Urbanism nevertheless represents postmodernism *par excellence*: both in its theory and its spatial production in cities. The movement's almost completely derivative concepts and rigid design guidelines lead to highly unoriginal projects in practice. New Urbanism's passionate adherence to a single-perspective critique of modernism leads it to produce only one type of urbanism, or more specifically, to reproduce the urbanism of pre-Depression America and medieval Europe. In other words, their planning theories produce the simulacra of urbanism: perfect copies of past, idealized spaces, without any originals. This claim, which seems rather hyperbolic at this juncture, will be elaborated as we move to look at one of postmodernism's newest spatial productions, implemented in the U.S. under the paradigmatic New Urbanism – bus rapid transit.

What the conceptual framework above has illuminated is that in our inquiry into the meaning of bus rapid transit for Euclid Avenue, as well as the public space formation in Cleveland, we will need to investigate the planning strategies which are embedded in these spatial productions. In other words, first, we will need to provide a detailed description of bus rapid transit with an eye towards determining its dominant formal characteristics, then, we will be required to explicate the planning strategies which inform

its design and express purpose, and finally, we will need to provide an understanding of how planning itself is informed by the logic of late capitalism, or, postmodernity.

Chapter 3: Methodology

As discussed above, the goals of this study are three-fold and require an analysis of a specific public space, the Euclid Avenue bus rapid transit, while extrapolating from its design and purpose the planning strategies embedded in it. From there this study will attempt to understand what informs planning itself, and thus has proposed a deeper inquiry into the meaning and consequences of postmodernity for cities, and to an extent, society itself. In this section I will describe the methods I used for this case-study, which can be thought of in two groups: the research methods used to get closer to the subject and the analysis method used to interpret my findings. My research methods comprise participant observation, semi-structured and unstructured interviews, and collected secondary materials (such as newspaper and journal articles, planning reports, and local planning documents). My analysis method, the way I will go about interpreting the data, is based on Fredric Jameson's three horizons of textual analysis as initially outlined in his *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981). I will close with a detailed description of Jameson's analysis method, its critiques, and how this study attempts to resolve them. However, before moving on to the description of my methods, it is first necessary to justify my use of Cleveland, Ohio and bus rapid transit as the subjects for a case-study.

3.1. The "Paradigmatic Case" of Cleveland's HealthLine

The selection of Cleveland and its HealthLine as the subjects of this thesis are based on what Bent Flyvbjerg, in his *Making Social Science Matter: Why social inquiry fails and how it can succeed again* (2001), called "the paradigmatic case"[91]. Flyvbjerg

[91] Bent Flyvbjerg, *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How It Can Succeed Again* (Cambridge, U.K. ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 79.

defines the "paradigmatic case" as essential for scientific research "to develop a metaphor to establish a school for the domain that the case concerns"[92]. While the latter portion of this definition is certainly not the aim of this thesis, I do believe that my cases can be considered to have informative qualities if viewed metaphorically, in addition to literally, as a city and a mode of public transit. What I mean by this is that Cleveland, as I have hinted at in the previous chapter and will examine in detail in the next, can serve as a metaphor for the dominant U.S. planning paradigms. As we will see, throughout its history the city has served, in various ways, as the city of experiment for planning theories – from City Beautiful, to the Garden City, to modernist planning, Equity Planning, and now New Urbanism.

In this manner, the HealthLine can then be seen as a metaphor for the way public space is transforming in postmodernity. As shown in the previous chapter, traditional public spaces such as parks, plazas, and streets, have been eroded by privatization, as a result, new spaces have arisen which now serve as focal points for social gathering, interaction, and experiencing difference. The HealthLine and bus rapid transit, standing between two traditional modes of public transit, bus and rail, is thus indicative of a new, interstitial space that has formed during these larger societal changes. How it functions as a social, public, space is accordingly, a focus of this study.

Flyvbjerg also points out that the method for identifying such a paradigmatic case is often "intuitive" and often very difficult to determine in advance[93]. In other words, it often happens over the course of the inquiry. This was definitely true for half of my study. My selection of the HealthLine was based on it being identified as "the gold

[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid., 81.

standard"[94] and "the leading example of BRT in the U.S."[95]. In this way, the national media attention it garnered led me to want to take a closer look at the phenomenon of bus rapid transit, and so I selected the most publicized, highly regarded, or paradigmatic, case.

Also, as I began to look deeper into the context of the HealthLine, the city of Cleveland itself, I discovered a long history of conflicting narratives, specifically those of growth versus equity, being fought out in the arena of public transit. These narratives, which can be accessed historically through the city's spatial productions, can also be observed in the various planning paradigms which have helped shape Cleveland. For these and many other reasons, the city offers a unique view of planning practice and is therefore a useful place to look for not only planning's history, but planning's future as well. This aspect of Cleveland, its ability to serve as an example of the changing paradigms of planning practice, is what led to my concluding discussion of contemporary planning and how it can be used to help understand its future.

3.2. RESEARCH METHODS

My research methods can best be considered as they relate to questions my study seeks to better understand. The first questions that guided my initial inquiry into the subject was what kind of new spaces does bus rapid transit create in the city? Are these new spaces public spaces? To begin an attempt to answer these questions, I spent two months using the Euclid Avenue bus rapid transit system, currently known in Cleveland as the 'HealthLine'. During these two months I observed how passengers (myself included) accessed and used the various spaces – especially vehicles, platforms, and crosswalks – created by the line on Euclid Avenue (called the Euclid Corridor Project by

[94] Youker, "Now Boarding the 5:15 Express."
[95] Weinstock, "Do Bus Rapid Transit Right, And It Won't Get Killed."

officials). Of particular interest was the behavior and activities of its riders, although behavior and activities at and around the platforms was also noted, but most observations were gathered on the BRT vehicles. Over these six weeks, the bulk of data comes from week days between 9am and 6pm. However, observations were taken for each day of the week at least once, and on many occasions the hours of data collection from extended from as early as 8am to as late 9pm.

My use of observation, both of participants and of my personal experience, is informed by several important studies of urban life, which serve as examples of the power of this method to illuminate the everyday production of urban space. Jane Jacobs (1961) and Allan Jacobs (1985) have each produced observation–based studies providing influential critiques of planning practices and important ways of understanding what the surrounding urban environment can teach us about history, people, and patterns of development[96].

Supplementing these observations are formal, semi-structured and informal, unstructured interviews with planners and designers of the HealthLine. Thus, to gain insight into the Euclid Corridor Project's spatial planning and design, interviews were conducted with Michael Schipper, Deputy General Manager of the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority; Greg Peckham, Managing Director of LAND Studio; and Mark Tebeau, Professor of History at Cleveland State University.

Next, I sought to better understand the planning strategies that informed the creation of these spaces. In other words, what planning theories or concepts are embedded in the new spatial productions as a result of the Euclid Corridor Project, and further what are the express purpose and goals of the HealthLine? To begin to answer this

[96] Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Vintage Books, 1961); Allan B. Jacobs, *Looking at Cities* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1985).

question I conducted formal, semi-structured interviews with Robert Brown, Director of the Cleveland City Planning Commission; Steven Litt, Art & Architecture critic for the Cleveland *The Plain Dealer* whose coverage of the Euclid Corridor Project dates back to its initial conception; Martin J. Sweeney, President of the Cleveland City Council and Kevin Kelley, Cleveland City Councilman and member of the Aviation & Transportation Committee; Rob Curry, Executive Director of the Cleveland Housing Network; Vickie Eaton Johnson, Executive Director of the Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation; Jim Haviland, Executive Director of MidTown Cleveland, Inc.; and David Jurca, Senior Urban Designer in Kent State University's Cleveland Urban Design Collaborative.

Additionally, based on my growing experience on the HealthLine, I became interested in several diffuse questions which would become important aspects of my research. Namely, how are riders of the HealthLine affected by the existing security measures of the system, and further, how do members of the city's security apparatus view the HealthLine? In order to gain insight into these questions, I held numerous unstructured conversations with individuals in the city about the HealthLine, and these conversations can be sorted into three categories: Euclid Avenue security personnel, Cleveland residents and riders of the BRT, and Cleveland residents and non-riders. Of the many public and semi-public security agencies which have jurisdiction over various areas of Euclid Avenue, I held conversations of varying lengths (approximately 5-15 minutes) with two Cleveland Clinic police officers and University Circle Police Staff Sergeant David Leff. Brief conversations with riders included an Environment Ohio petition gatherer and one other female passenger. Lastly, I held multiple discussions with Cleveland residents and/or workers who do not use the BRT.

Finally, during the past year I have collected secondary materials on Cleveland, the Euclid Corridor Project, and bus rapid transit in the United States since 1999 when

the concept began gaining traction. These materials have taken the form of mainstream (local and national) media reports; professional and academic journal articles, national magazine; city and neighborhood planning documents; and promotional literature on Euclid Avenue put out by local agencies in Cleveland.

3.3. ANALYSIS METHOD

Upon completion of the research phase of study, I became aware that my interest in the Euclid Corridor bus rapid transit project was now primarily concerned with attempting to understand what its creation means for Euclid Avenue, public space in Cleveland, and more broadly, the formation of public space in what is now considered postmodern American society. In other words, I felt that the subject of my inquiry naturally lent itself to a close 'reading' or analysis, and so I realized the need to use an interpretive method based on textual analysis. In this manner, I am considering the BRT as a "text", because, I will argue, in the same manner as a work of literature, music, or other work of art, it contains levels of meaning significantly beyond its function as an object for viewing, listening, or experiencing. In the simplest terms, I am treating the BRT for the purpose of analysis as a work of architecture rather than as a piece of a functionalistic public transit infrastructure.

While this at first glance may seem like a bit of a conceptual stretch, I find the move justified due to the conditions surrounding the BRT's development and construction. Its express purpose is to catalyze developed along the Euclid Avenue, historically Cleveland's 'main street'. As we shall see in future sections, the rebirth of Euclid Avenue can be seen as metonymically 'standing in' for a larger rebirth of the city as a whole. The BRT then, by its placement on Euclid Avenue, is closely tied to the redevelopment of the entire city. From this perspective, at minimum it can be viewed as

a highly symbolic piece of infrastructure. Where the BRT becomes much more than just a piece of infrastructure is when its design is made part of the larger effort of city leaders to attract a specific type of resident, professionals and other highly educated workers, to the city. As a result of this strategy, the spaces of the BRT (the vehicles, platforms, even its lanes on the street) are built to mimic light rail and to intentionally avoid moving, sounding, and looking like a traditional bus as much as possible (light rail being seen as the preferred mode of public transit by professionals, while the bus as the mass transit of the poor and working class). In other words, the BRT is *coded* space. It is, like a work of architecture, designed to produce meaning above and beyond its function.

Following this line of reasoning, an interpretive framework then becomes necessary to begin to uncover these deeper meanings. To be clear, at stake here is an interpretation that accounts for the varied historical, political, social, economic, and of course, symbolic meanings associated with this particular phenomenon. This is why I have chosen to borrow a method of textual analysis, specifically Fredric Jameson's, as outlined in *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (1981) to provide just such an interpretive framework.

Jameson, as a Marxist literary critic, is concerned with showing that underneath every individual text lies a subtext which can be reconstructed, or "reread", to provide a glimpse into the condition of possibility, not only for it as an individual text, but the entire culture (and thus society) from which it arose[97]. A text's condition of possibility then is essentially its context within, and relation to, History (styled with a capital 'H' by Jameson to distinguish his usage of it). But History in the sense that Jameson means it is defined not as a linear series of events, but in the Marxist sense, as human Necessity, our

[97] Ian Buchanan, *Fredric Jameson: Live Theory*, Live Theory (London ; New York: Continuum, 2006).

'musts': "we must eat, we must sleep, we must have shelter…and so on"[98], and the first human 'must' can then be thought of as the beginning of History. As Jameson says, "History is what hurts"[99], and it is the human experience of Necessity that acts as a 'ground' for our thought, meant here in the philosophical sense as a concept that affects life whether we believe it to or not[100]. History can then be defined as the master code of cultural interpretation; it is what all texts must be read against in order to access their hidden subtext. Ian Buchanan, in *Fredric Jameson: Live Theory* (2006), explains the concept of master code as the way, for example, the Bible unlocks the hidden meanings behind C.S. Lewis's *Chronicles of Narnia*[101]. However, unlike the Bible, a master code which is available to anyone desiring to read it, History, no matter how much one desires, is never directly 'knowable'. Thus, as Jameson writes, "this History can be apprehended only through its effects and never directly as some reified force"[102].

However, history has a double meaning for Jameson. The implication of this for a culture's production of texts is that the 'effect of History' accessible in two ways: a text can be read against History (as its master code) and its formation is the result of transitions in History. Thus, each text first requires a History in order to be fully comprehended (its ground). Secondly, each text contains, within a coded subtext, an articulation of that very History (the conditions of its cause)[103]. An elaboration of these two points will be made a little later, but for now we can at least begin to see the importance Jameson attaches to the interpretation of cultural production – it allows us

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[98] Ibid., 58.
[99] Fredric Jameson, *The Political Unconscious: Narrative as a Socially Symbolic Act* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1981), 102.
[100] Buchanan, *Fredric Jameson*.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 102.
[103] Buchanan, *Fredric Jameson*.

access to grasp the very traces of History, or, that which motivates society. And it is from this theoretical basis that he proceeds in an articulation of the analytical methodology designed to excavated the effect of History from a text, ultimately revealing its, and society's, "political unconscious".

The way Jameson proposes to accomplish movement is through a multi-tiered analysis which can be seen as designed to successively broaden the scope of the interpretation beyond the original object of study. His three analytical horizons – the political, the social, and finally the mode of production – are complex and each requires a rather detailed explanation.

The first, or political, horizon of analysis compels us to place the object of study in its historical context. This consists of, in the most obvious sense, reconstructing the events that led to its creation. However, because we are starting from a Marxist perspective, this reconstructing is done in the form of "immanent analysis", which aims to understand how its production is influenced by ideological forces[104]. These forces, or modes of production, contain contradictions which are necessary for the very production of the text. Contradictions are, for Marx and thus for Jameson, "what occurs when the underlying forces of material production begin to outstrip the system of social relations to which they earlier gave rise, much as a crustacean, having excreted one exoskeleton for its use, sheds it and grows another"[105]. These contradictions are also the driver, for the materialist conception of history, i.e. of the succession of modes of production. In other words history develops, in an egg-like fashion: it simultaneously contains the conditions of its existence and destruction (the egg contains itself but also what will become the

[104] William C. Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx: An Introduction to The Political Unconscious* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1984).
[105] Ibid., 116.

chick that destroys it)[106]. Therefore, roughly speaking and to start from a random moment, historical development exists because feudalism grew out of ancient society and the bourgeois capitalist revolution, in turn, grew out of feudalism[107].

Because History is "what hurts", the successions of modes of production are not abstract events; they form the story of oppressed people in continual conflict with their oppressors. Society, in order to function as such, must repress this nightmare of history as a condition for collective psychological survival: both masters and slaves, lords and serfs, or bourgeoisies and proletariat. The oppressed members repress the impulse to revolution, while the dominators repress the threat such a revolution represents to their way of life[108]. The meaning coded at the unconscious, or symbolic, level within a text is thus derived from the way it can be seen as an articulation of such larger societal or cultural anxieties[109].

By examining the text's history immanently, it allows for just such an identification of underlying contradictions within a given society, again defined as conflicting modes of production leading to a clash of values or imaginaries. It is then possible to reread the text as providing a resolution of this contradiction as a "symbolic act". It is 'symbolic' because it does not (and cannot) solve the actual problem (i.e. the societal contradiction), but it is also an 'act', a very real phenomenon that exists within society and has the potential, like any other production, to alter it.

The identification of the text's 'symbolic act', again seen as the way a society resolves an existing contradiction, also signals the movement to the next level of

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[106] Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*.
[107] Karl Marx, "The German Ideology," in *The Marx-Engels Reader*, ed. Robert C. Tucker, 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 1978), 146–200.
[108] Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*.
[109] Buchanan, *Fredric Jameson*.

Jameson's interpretative framework, the social horizon. For Jameson, the moment the text can be seen as society's resolution of an otherwise unsolvable contradiction, the text becomes "rewritten" in the terms of class analysis[110]. Social class, however, can only be defined relationally, specifically as the relationship "between the dominant and laboring class" in society[111]. The advantage of this perspective is that each class becomes visible to analysis in opposition to one another through the pursuit of ideological strategies that either support or undermine society's value system. In contrast to the traditional, rigid delineations of social classes based on, for example, employment type or income levels, which impose artificial breaks between classes based on statistical interpretation rather than existing social conditions. In other words, the dominant class is seen as such because its members pursue strategies that legitimize its power, while the laboring class is identified as those who engage in "covert and disguised strategies [designed to] contest the dominant value system"[112]. Social classes, and thus society, become characterized by an essential, antagonistic quality. However, within this essential, irresolvable difference lies a hidden unity. At its most basic level, in order for social classes to stake out opposing ideological positions there must be a "shared code" allowing conflicts to arise in the first place[113]. A situation where two people are engaged in a fierce debate may seem completely irreconcilable, but in order for them to disagree in the first place they must be speaking the same language: language in this case is the shared code revealing unity within difference[114].

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[110] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 83.
[111] Ibid., 84.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.
[114] Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*.

The identification of a society's shared code, through which class antagonisms are fought and resolved, becomes the analytical purpose of this second horizon. The original text, reread through the lens of social class, can now be seen as a "single individual utterance" read against the larger system of class discourse[115]. This individual utterance, what Jameson refers to as the ideologeme, has a dialogical makeup, meaning it contains both dominant and laboring class discourses. This rather opaque description can be made more understandable when we consider how these two classes in society wage a continual battle in the cycle of cultural production and (re)appropriation. In this manner, 1950s rock music was initially seen as a dangerous cultural phenomenon; today it is used to sell everything from insurance to cleaning products. The counter-cultural element within rock music is still there (in its lyrics, its beat, etc.), but it has been driven underground so to speak by its appropriation into the dominant class discourse (advertisers, corporations, etc). Thus, rock music, or better, the individual songs within the genre, can be seen as examples of the ideologeme in the Jamesonian sense.

The identification of a cultural "shared code" also signals the movement to the third and final interpretive horizon, the mode of production. We have already touched briefly on Marx's concept of mode of production, roughly summarized as the processes from which History develops (feudalism to bourgeois capitalism, for example). Jameson, in order to counter the major objection to Marxist analysis – that it will always furnish an economic justification for every societal production – provides an important nuance. Synthesizing a portion of an existing theory, political scientist Nicos Poulantzas' concept of 'social formation', Jameson argues that within every society can be seen simultaneously existing modes of production, those which the society has outgrown but

[115] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.

has been unable to fully discard, and those which, like the egg, contain the conditions for a new modes of production "but within the existing system have not generated an autonomous space of their own"[116]. With this 'extending' of the traditional Marxist theoretical framework comes the consequence that individual texts now must be analyzed with a knowledge of all modes of production in History order to fully determine their effects (after the fact of course). This then allows Jameson's Marxist analysis, the only analytical framework with a genuine theory of historical development, to subsume rival theories. In this way, Feminism and critical race theory become ways of unmasking the particularly "virulent" strains of patriarchal and ancient modes of production that have continued to fuel sexism and racism through human history[117]. However, though the liberation from sexism and racism is certainly critical and necessary for a more equal and tolerant society, the pursuit of these strategies by themselves will not create the desired conditions for equality among society's members without an accompanying liberation from "the commodity form" and the class antagonism it brings[118]. For example, it may be helpful here to think of the evolution of Dr. Martin Luther King's political activity as embodying this logic. Dr. King's early political organizing was centered solely on racial justice and equality, and to that end, he needed to broaden his issue-focus such that he had become, at the time of his assassination, a voice for class struggle in America as well[119].

In this manner, the final horizon "then becomes an attempt to rewrite the text in the terms of its associated mode of production, contained in its 'ideology of form'"[120].

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[116] Ibid., 95.
[117] Ibid., 99.
[118] Ibid., 100.
[119] Slavoj Žižek, *First As Tragedy, Then As Farce* (Verso, 2009).
[120] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 98.

What Jameson means by this elegant phrase is that within every text society produces can be found unconscious ideological statements, located not in its content, but in its form. Thus, to stay with our rock music example, it is not the content of the songs (their lyrics, beat, etc) but the genre of rock 'n' roll itself that contains an unconscious ideological and political meaning, This unconscious ideology of form, the result of what Jameson calls "coexisting sign systems of varied modes of production"[121], is what allows all rock music to continue to "transmit" a code that can be traced to the genre's conception in the 1950s (without it we would not recognize the music in question as 'rock').

This concludes the terms of Jameson's methodology, and as promised, it is here that an elaboration can be provided to better understand the way a text can be thought of as containing the 'effect of History'. To restate, History acts as both as a 'ground' for all thought – i.e. it affects life whether we believe it to be or not – and 'cause' of the text, i.e. the historical conditions determining its formation. The way it functions as a ground or master code, seems clear enough, it is the way it functions as a *cause* that needs clarification. To start, the latter aspect of Jameson's definition of History functions more specifically, borrowing from Louis Althusser, as an "absent cause"[122]. Of course, the way it causes events in society is not meant in any crude deterministic, 'cause and effect', sense. William Dowling, in *Jameson, Althusser, Marx: An Introduction to The Political Unconscious* (1984), explains the difference between Althusser's concept (called structural causality) and other forms of determinism as the way that any "structure", be it a chair, a building, or even a society, always appear as more than the sum of its parts. Using the diagram of a "smiley face" next to a grouping of squiggly lines and dots, Dowling makes the point that what 'causes' the reader to see a face on one side and

[121] Ibid., 99.
[122] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.

nonsense on the other is not any of single part of the face's lines, dashes or dots, but their specific arrangement on the page; in other words, their relation to one another[123]. This relational element is the causality Jameson is thinking of when he refers to History as an "absent cause", since it causes the condition of possibility of individual texts to exist by the way all elements of societal production relate to one another[124]. Finally, this is also the way social classes, viewed relationally, can be seen as composing two classes *and something more*, that 'something more' is then society itself[125].

The other aspect of History's absent causality Jameson must deal with is the Marxist tendency to view the economic as the critical point of all societal analysis (Ibid). Once again Jameson synthesizes his idea of History with an Althusserian concept, that of 'overdetermination'[126]. To use Dowling's anamorphic example, just as the heart was once considered the body's 'dominant organ', traditional Marxism sees the economy as society's heart, as the "underlying condition" for all its other processes. But, as we now know the heart only works in concert with the lungs, kidneys, skin, etc., overdetermination argues society functions as a "synergistic whole", as a relation of economic, juridical, cultural, and political elements[127]. We can talk about the history of each of the body's organs and be understood, and in this fashion, every organ can be thought of as autonomously functioning. Similarly, we can also talk about the history of each of society's elements, whether economic, political, juridical, etc. However, in both examples, their autonomy only exists through their total dependence on all the others[128].

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123 Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*, 66.
124 Ibid.
125 Ibid.
126 Ibid., 67.
127 Ibid., 68.
128 Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*.

History then, works in this exact same manner. It exists as a relational system, or structure, in which no single societal element determines its actions. And as a structure it is more than just the sum of parts, what causes it to be a complete structure and what allows it to function as a synergistic whole is its relation to all of human society. As Dowling explains, "To speak of history as an 'absent cause' is similarly to speak of the structure of the totality as something immanent in its elements or effects, not as something that is additional to and apart from them"[129] (italics in original). Thus, Jameson is a structural Marxist in the strictest sense of the label, but he only sees one structure in the world, that of History itself, which functions as both 'ground' and 'cause' in his theoretical framework[130]. It is a 'ground' in that History exists within the text – as its 'master code', but History is also the absent cause, existing outside the text, and in this way can be seen, as Jameson refers to it, as the "untranscendable horizon", i.e. that which sets limits on human desires and plans, inverting individual and collective intentions through the very passage of time[131]. The consequence of this interpretive method is then explicit: "History is therefore the experience of Necessity, and it is this alone which can forestall its thematization or reification as a mere object of representation as one master code among many others"[132].

To return to the current context, the critical analysis of the Euclid Avenue BRT, Jameson's three horizons of textual analysis, as outlined above, allows for a triple movement of sorts. First, it provides an interpretive method from which to "read" the BRT (the individual text). Second, it backgrounds my analysis from a Marxist perspective, but one which is not as susceptible to postmodern critiques which see

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[129] Ibid., 70.
[130] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.
[131] Ibid., 102.
[132] Ibid.

Marxism as just another totalizing "master narrative". Following Jameson's rather nontraditional perspective, my analysis is able to better accommodate the fact that reality is fluid and changeable. The in-depth explanations of the concepts of History and overdetermination were attempts to show that I am not purporting to be able to uncover *the answer* or provide *the correct reading* of the HealthLine, planning, or Cleveland's past. Rather, the events and data that I discuss and analyze are, as in the example above, like the many organs of the body, important to Cleveland's function but not determining factors on their own. Third, and finally, it naturally allows this analysis to transcend the individual text to trace the larger changes to public space, planning, and ultimately, society. But again, not in a crude deterministic sense, but as individual phenomenon in the vast body that is human history.

Chapter 4: Cleveland, Euclid Avenue, and the Development of Bus Rapid Transit

In this chapter I will provide a brief history of Cleveland which will establish the city as an industrial powerhouse in the early 20th Century that has been decimated by deindustrialization, suburbanization, and income inequality. I will provide an in depth look at the latter factor by showing the consequences of this inequality by the highly segregated minority neighborhoods of the city, which are today the primary service areas of the BRT. I will then look at the planning responses to each of these phenomena in brief. Next, I will look closer at the city's most symbolically meaningful street: Euclid Avenue, and how contradicting imaginaries of the street have been a source of conflict within the city. Tracing its evolution, I will show how the avenue's rise, fall, and rebirth mirrors the city as a whole and has come to be seen as metonymic for Cleveland. Multiple redevelopment plans have been put forward for Euclid Avenue since the 1950's, but for various political reasons, I will argue the difference between development/growth and equity/advocacy agendas, none of these plans were implemented. Finally, I will describe the events leading up to the avenue's redesign as BRT corridor and provide a detailed description of it.

4.1. Egalitarian and Capitalistic: The Plan of Cleveland

The history of Cleveland, Ohio is in many ways also the story of industrialization in the United States. Founded and laid out in 1796 by Connecticut attorney Moses Cleaveland – in his only visit to the place which would bear his name – the city was essentially conceived and planned purely in the interests of economic profit[133]. The surveying expedition was funded by the Connecticut Land Company and the site was

[133] Carol Poh Miller, *Cleveland: A Concise History, 1796-1990*, The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History 1 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 10.

planned in a way that would facilitate quick sale to land speculators rather than settlers; and as it did begin to attract settlers, its lack of an existing "class of resident patricians and fee simple land ownership" enabled the nascent town to be freely shaped by "unalloyed capitalism"[134].

However, Cleveland's original plan (for what is now downtown), positioned at the Cuyahoga River's intersection with Lake Erie, can simultaneously be read as both egalitarian and capitalistic. Composed of a basic gridded street network centered around a 10-acre commons (today's Public Square), the equity of block-sizes allows for even lot subdivision which, because there are no irregular, 'leftover spaces' in the blocks, makes them easier to sell (the most famous example from this era being New York City's "Commissioners Grid" plan). At the same time, equal blocks would theoretically give each settler the same opportunities of power and wealth in terms of property, while the presence of a public commons provided a clear place for civic gathering, an important consideration for would-be cities in a fledgling American democracy.

Initially, it was Cleveland's geographic location that accounted for its early growth. The Ohio & Erie Canal, built in 1825, linked the region to the East and made Cleveland a prime site for commodity (ex. wheat, flour, livestock) packaging and distribution[135]. This sparked an initial population boom as entrepreneurs and immigrant workers (largely Irish and eastern Blacks) came to a city in need of laborers and commercial expertise[136]. Even with these developments, however, the population of Cleveland after fifty years barely exceeded 17,000.

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[134] Kenneth L. Kolson, *Big Plans: The Allure and Folly of Urban Design*, Center Books on Contemporary Landscape Design (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001), 53.
[135] Miller, *Cleveland*, 32.
[136] Ibid., 33.

The next decades, however, would witness the rise of the American industrial heartland and Cleveland was at its epicenter[137]. The city had always been driven by economic forces anyway with "little in the way of municipal controls"[138], and the discoveries of coal and ore deposits; oil in nearby Titusville, Pennsylvania; its existing commercial transportation infrastructure (railroads, the river, canal, and lake); and Civil War demand for steel and other manufactured goods converted Cleveland from a small town into a lakefront metropolis in the space of a generation. Iron and steel mills, oil refineries, foundries, and clothing manufacturers forever altered the entire social makeup and built aesthetic of the city[139]. In addition to attracting hundreds of thousands of immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe as well as Blacks from the South, these employers also forever changed the city's physical landscape as the architecture of towering smokestacks and blast furnaces became the proto-skyscrapers of the nascent metropolis. With this intense development came equally rapid accumulation of wealth by the city's "captains of industry", and the mansions of Euclid Avenue's "Millionaires Row" famously became the address of many of America's richest individuals. From the start of the Civil War to the end of the 1870's the city's population had quadrupled to over 160,000[140]. By the turn of the century, Cleveland would be as large as it is today with nearly 382,000 residents – the sixth largest city in the United States. Along with this incredible growth also came the dehumanizing conditions characteristic of the industrial

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[137] Kolson, *Big Plans*, 53.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Miller, *Cleveland*, 70.
[140] Rich Exner, "2010 Census Population Numbers Show Cleveland Below 400,000; Northeast Ohio down 2.2 Percent," *The Plain Dealer* (Clevelan, March 9, 2011), Final edition, sec. National, http://www.cleveland.com/datacentral/index.ssf/2011/03/2010_census_figures_for_ohio_s.html.

city: overcrowding, substandard buildings, and unsanitary living conditions; and unprecedented demands by residents on city services were beginning to be made[141].

At the turn of the century Cleveland would be struggling to balances the service needs of a "heterogeneous", "multi-ethnic" working class with the cultural and economic desires of a plutocratic aristocracy[142], and events of its first three decades would cement the tension in the dominant imaginaries of Cleveland that exist in the city to this day – a diverse, working class steel town that is also home to some of America's leading cultural and educational institutions. Also, for the first time in its history the city would explicitly turn to planning to help solve many of these issues, and the results would reshape the spatial landscape of the city.

Beginning with the 1903 Group Plan, followed by the planning of the Shaker Heights "garden suburb" and its transit link to downtown – the Terminal Tower – Cleveland represented some of the fullest realizations of urban planning theories of the era: City Beautiful and Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. Post-WWII planning in the city suggested wholesale buy-in to the large scale housing and highway projects of modernism; and correspondingly the period is marked by the largest urban renewal plan in the nation (culminating in the notorious Riverview development by I.M. Pei). The failure of modernism to stem the tide of out-migration and jobs to the suburbs led to a backlash that ushered in the nation's only experiment with Equity Planning, lasting through the 1970s. Finally, after a period focused almost completely on downtown development left the city with new skyscrapers, sports facilities, and hospital complexes, but no connection between them, Cleveland planners, influenced by a new paradigm – known as New Urbanism – looked to stitch the city's far-flung neighborhoods, cultural

[141] Miller, *Cleveland*, 78.
[142] Ibid.

centers, amenities, and employment centers back together. A note of qualification: what follows is a very planning-determined history of the city done in the interests of clarity and simplicity. However, most of the events detailed below are the result of large social, cultural, economic forces as well as many diffuse, individual actions, of which planning plays only a part.

4.2. THE INDUSTRIAL CITY REFORMED AS CITY BEAUTIFUL

The dark side of industrialization, the simultaneous formation of slums alongside the mansions of a new class of elites, was becoming a political cause for reform movements that were spreading across America, and things were no different in Cleveland[143]. The city's industrial supremacy had also made it the center of the national labor movement and 1901 saw the election of 'Progressive' Mayor Tom L. Johnson who came to office resolved to make Cleveland more equitable[144]. A personal friend of Henry George – the hugely influential "single land tax" theorist – Johnson's first reforms were directed at public space in the city[145]. As Cleveland historian Carol Poh Miller writes, it was "under Johnson that the people really learned that they owned the parks"[146], and he made improved public transit a signature issue. Widely regarded as the reason for his defeat, Johnson initiated an eight year war with private streetcar companies at the start of his administration in a quest for municipal control and a three-cent fare, concessions only gained in federal court after Johnson's defeat in 1909[147]. The Johnson administration also got the city to adopt its first comprehensive building code[148].

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143 Andrew Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland," *Journal of Planning History* 1, no. 1 (February 1, 2002): 79–93, doi:10.1177/153851320200100105.
144 Miller, *Cleveland*, 116.
145 Case Western Reserve University, "Encyclopedia of Cleveland History: JOHNSON, TOM L.," accessed November 9, 2012, http://ech.case.edu/ech-cgi/article.pl?id=JTL.
146 Miller, *Cleveland*, 107.
147 Ibid., 108.
148 Ibid.

Mayor Johnson's legacy, however, can be mostly seen in his support for planning in Cleveland[149]. Throughout his three terms, Johnson and his supporters petitioned the state relentlessly for home rule governance, which they ultimately gained, after his death, in 1912, making possible the authorization of a City Planning Commission[150]. Most important for our purposes here, it was during his administration that two of the city's most significant public spaces in the city were conceived, the beloved West Side Market, and an ambitious new civic center that would reshape the city's downtown[151].

Like many progressives of his time, Mayor Johnson held a vision of the city inspired by the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 in Chicago's "White City"[152]. City Beautiful, the name under which the proponents of the "White City"-ideal would collectively operate, was a planning movement that aspired through urban design to turn the dirty, individualistic industrial city into a clean, healthy and civic-minded community. In this manner it aligned perfectly with the goals of the Progressive cause in cities[153]. Thus, when a series of fortuitous events left the city needing to find sites for multiple federal, county, and municipal buildings at the beginning of the Johnson administration, he turned to Daniel Burnham, architect of the "White City", to head the Group Plan Commission that would remake downtown Cleveland based on the concept of City Beautiful[154].

The Group Plan, or "Mall" as it is known today, represents one of the City Beautiful movement's most fully realized plans[155]. The three member commission

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149 Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
150 Ibid.
151 Miller, *Cleveland*, 108.
152 Kolson, *Big Plans*.
153 Ibid.
154 Ibid.
155 Ibid.

submitted a Beaux Arts-influenced design which grouped nine public buildings (including a new city hall) of uniform Italian Renaissance architecture along a grand promenade[156]. The site of the Mall would span the northeast corner of Public Square to the edge of the lake and "beautify" what had become an embarrassing downtown slum. Thus, in what could be considered as a pre-echo to urban renewal in the city, the district was razed and its residents displaced[157].

The actual plan called for enclosing its northern end with a majestic railroad depot to ensure that instead of a dirty slum, the first impression of visitors to Cleveland would be the city's new monumental "civic heart"[158]. The symbolic consequences for the city were immense, and by shifting the main transportation hub in the city, the plan represented nothing less than a shift of the center of the city from Public Square to the Mall[159].

However, the proposed railroad depot, which was clearly central to the plan, amounted to picking a massive fight with railroad companies over its control[160]. As to be expected, Mayor Johnson demanded major concessions from the railroads in return for getting a new depot from which to operate; concessions that the railroads, seeing that the entire plan depended on the depot, had no intention of providing. Over the next three decades eight of the nine proposed buildings would be built on the Mall, but the railroad station was never realized. As political scientist Kenneth Kolson wrote of this event, "It is hard to imagine a better object lesson in the perils of master planning than the story of how the union depot eluded the Group Plan and the lakefront, winding up instead at the

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156 Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
157 Kenneth E. Miller, *From Progressive to New Dealer: Frederic C. Howe and American Liberalism* (Penn State Press, 2010).
158 Kolson, *Big Plans*, 64.
159 Ibid., 60.
160 Ibid., 59.

southwest corner of Public Square"[161]. However that story can also be seen as the direct confrontation between the era's two dominant planning movements, City Beautiful and Garden City, out of which would arise the most famous building in the city, the reorientation of the city back to Public Square, and a harbinger of suburbanization.

Figure 1: South-facing view of the Mall and Terminal Tower circa 1940, note the absence of a train depot on the north end, an unrealized goal of the Group Plan[162]

[161] Ibid.

[162] Cleveland Public Library, "The Group Plan Mall," accessed November 9, 2012, https://farm5.static.flickr.com/4093/4902531046_2b3efa3582.jpg.

4.3. GARDEN CITIES OF CLEVELAND

The year of 1909, in one of history's many small ironies, is where we could almost assign the date of the first transition of planning paradigms in Cleveland: the death of City Beautiful and the birth of Garden City. That is the year Mayor Johnson and his progressive movement would be voted from office, and two brothers, influenced by Ebenezer Howard's Garden City concept, purchased the land for what eventually became the city's elusive union depot[163]. Having planned a community just outside the city and needing to connect it to Cleveland, per Howard's Garden City directives, the Van Sweringen brothers purchased the southwest corner of Public Square to erect what would become Terminal Tower (Figure 1), linking via streetcar lines downtown to their "garden suburb" of Shaker Heights.

The effects of this shift were dramatic for the social and built landscape of the city. The railroad depot, finally approved by voter referendum on the Van Sweringen site, would prove much greater than just an interurban railway terminal and office building. Designed to include a department store, a shopping concourse, and office buildings, the 708 foot tall Terminal Tower (the tallest building west of New York City until 1964) was "a city-within-a-city"[164]and gave Cleveland an instant spatial landmark. It also restructured the symbolic center of the city from the Mall back to Public Square and Euclid Avenue[165]. The garden suburb itself also proved wildly successful and by the time the Terminal Tower opened in 1930, the community was now the City of Shaker Heights and boasted 16,000 residents[166]. However, in stark contrast to Howard's original Garden City which was conceived as community of workers, Shaker Heights was a community

[163] Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
[164] Kolson, *Big Plans*, 66.
[165] Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
[166] Kolson, *Big Plans*, 66.

exclusively for the rich, and restrictive covenants prevented the city's major minority groups – Blacks, Jews, and Italians – from residing there[167].

These events were no less than a direct repudiation of the still in-progress City Beautiful Group Plan for the Mall – now led by famed landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead Jr. While City Beautiful viewed the Mall as the catalyst for a new era of civic pride and equality in Cleveland, the Garden City-inspired developments revealed the dramatic economic stratification that existed in the city – as manifest in the latent desire of elites to decamp to the city's first suburbs. Rather than signal a new era of urbanism, the Garden City provided the initial infrastructure for the beginning of suburbanization – peripheral residential development and transportation links to employment centers downtown. The Mall represented old Cleveland's civic ideals; Terminal Tower and private suburbs, the city's future.

Meanwhile, the loss of its wealthy residents coincided with the ghettoization of its minority residents for the first time into highly segregated East Side enclaves by race, and by 1930, "90% the city's [35,000] Black residents lived in an area bounded by Euclid & Woodland Avenues"[168]. Kenneth Kusmer's *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930* documents these events and the contradictory effects for Blacks in the city. It did foster a sense of unity and self-determination within the neighborhood in the face of increasing discrimination[169]. However, it did further contribute to the economic stratification of a city that was by 1930, because of severe social and economic prejudice, "decaying at the core"[170].

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[167] Ibid.
[168] Miller, *Cleveland*, 104.
[169] Kenneth L. Kusmer, *A Ghetto Takes Shape: Black Cleveland, 1870-1930*, Illini Books ed, Blacks in the New World (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978).
[170] W. Dennis Keating, Norman Krumholz, and Philip Star, *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*, Studies in Government and Public Policy (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996).

4.4. THE MARSHAL PLAN COMES HOME: MODERNIST PLANNING IN POSTWAR CLEVELAND

Nineteen-fifty represented the city's high water mark in terms of population at nearly 915,000[171]. Although the beginnings of the fall of the industrial city can be seen as early as the 1930s in Cleveland, it was not until the decade after WWII that its decline was clear. Carol Poh Miller quotes an *Architectural Forum* article from this period that sums up the postwar issues facing American cities as follows: "Every metropolitan area is plagued by the paradox of the suburbs siphoning off tax income. In Cleveland, this parasitic situation reaches an extreme… suburban chauvinism in Cleveland is more than a political and financial problem. It is a social problem"[172]. The city responded with its first-ever citywide General Plan (1949)[173].

The 1949 Cleveland General Plan, and subsequent development projects of the next two decades, signified a wholesale belief in the ability of rational planning to reverse the trends of population and job loss to the suburbs by systematically modernizing the city. Despite claims that 1950s planning in Cleveland was marked by the "innovation" of citizen participation in its processes[174], it seems this involvement did not extended to the residents who had the most to lose. Allan Jacobs, a former UC-Berkeley planning professor and former Director of City Planning in San Francisco, California, was at the time a planner working on public housing in the Cleveland. Tellingly, he recalls that "he had no idea what residents wanted" because the process was completely top-down and involved "zero public participation"[175].

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171 Exner, "2010 Census Population Numbers Show Cleveland Below 400,000; Northeast Ohio down 2.2 Percent."
172 Miller, *Cleveland*, 155.
173 Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
174 Ibid.
175 Bradley Flamm, "The Garden Valley: Remembering Visions and Values in 1950s Cleveland with Allan Jacobs," *Berkeley Planning Journal* 18, no. 1 (January 1, 2005), http://www.escholarship.org/uc/item/6k0274vr.

What the modernist planning era is known for, however, is getting things done; and once again, Cleveland is a prime example. During the 1950s a 19-mile heavy rail system was constructed and, leveraging two crucial federal policies, the Housing Act of 1949 and the Federal Highway Act of 1956, the city laid out a redevelopment plan that would be unprecedented in the United States – indeed the scheme was so large a new Department of Urban Renewal and Housing was created to implement much of it[176]. Working closely with the Cleveland Development Foundation, "a quasi-public organization funded by the Cleveland Foundation and 100 of the area's largest corporations"[177], the renewal plan called for the removal and redevelopment of nearly 10 square miles, or one-eighth of the city. Cleveland's urban renewal program from 1950-1956 was the largest in the nation[178], a veritable domestic version of the Marshal Plan.

However, unlike the largely successful plan to rebuild Europe, urban renewal in Cleveland was a disaster. While planners, using newly acquired police powers and eminent domain, razed districts they had classified as slums with federal money, the scheme depended on private investors purchasing the land back from the city for economic development. The demand for this land was drastically overestimated and the many of the renewal projects were never realized and the land reverted to surface parking[179]. Worse, Cleveland's planners were operating under the modernist theory that slums created poverty, thus, by removing the slums, poverty in the city would be alleviated. Instead, an estimated 11,000 residents displaced by the freeway and commercial redevelopment projects – all poor, many of them Black – poured into East Side neighborhoods: Hough, Glenville, Upper Central, the center of the city's race riots

176 Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."
177 Ibid.
178 Miller, *Cleveland*.
179 Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."

of the following decade. Urban renewal further the concentrated poverty and put extreme pressure on already struggling districts to absorb some of the city's poorest residents into their communities[180]. A situation made more tragic when one considers that just a decade earlier Cleveland was first city to receive federal public housing funds, on the national vanguard in its efforts to provide, rather than remove, housing for the poor[181].

In addition to exacerbating the city's poverty issues, the freeway and renewal projects did nothing to stem the loss of population and jobs to the suburbs, in fact, it made it worse. Former Cleveland Planning Director Norman Krumholz estimated that from 1958 to 1977 the city lost 130,000 jobs, during this same time the region gained 210,000 jobs[182]. What the freeways did do was make commercial development in the suburbs easier to access. During the fifties suburban shopping centers flourished nationally. In 1963 the region's first indoor shopping mall opened and the city, already bleeding tax revenue, began to lose retail income. The department stores along Euclid Avenue, the city's main commercial corridor, left for the regional malls, or closed altogether[183].

4.5. THE BACKLASH

Cleveland in the late 1960's was a city in freefall. There were race riots in the Hough and Glenville neighborhoods, the Cuyahoga River notoriously caught fire (though actually for the third time), and a reviled school busing program all were factors contributing to massive population loss[184]. The city lost 125,000 residents in the 1960s and during the same time the Black population in Cleveland, once extremely

[180] Miller, *Cleveland*, 162.
[181] Ibid., 139.
[182] Krumholz, "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969–1979."
[183] Miller, *Cleveland*.
[184] Ibid., 167.

socioeconomically diverse, but now "more often than not poor", rose from 16 to 44 percent[185]. The city, in crisis, once again looked to planning for solutions. Led by then-Planning Director Norman Krumholz, the city once again clearly transitioned to a new planning paradigm, a direct challenge to the modernist principles that were still dominant in the profession, and began an experiment in Advocacy, or, Equity Planning[186].

Kenneth Kolson explains that this "contrast between orthodox [modernist] planning and advocacy planning may be seen in Krumholz's approach to transportation"[187]. The former is almost single-mindedly focused on what they view as cancerous to the economy of cities: traffic congestion, limited auto access to downtown, and lack of parking. Thus, Cleveland built a system of freeways through its central neighborhoods, constructed parking lots, and turned its commercial streets, such as Euclid Avenue, into speedways. Krumholz saw this focus as designed to benefit the suburban user of the city rather its residents. Estimating that at least a third of the Clevelanders did not own a car, he and his colleagues instead advocated for public transit access – specifically buses[188]. In the 1975 negotiations over the transfer of the Cleveland Transit System (CTS) to the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA), he saw the regionalization of public transit – rail-focused to provide suburban *inter-region* transportation – as potentially disastrous for the city's poor residents who depended on buses for *intra-urban* transportation. Given that 87 percent of RTA's ridership consisted of bus riders, the city's planners demanded concessions in return for the transfer of the CTS[189]. Mirroring the confrontation between Mayor Johnson and the streetcar companies

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185 Krumholz, "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969–1979."
186 Ibid.
187 Kolson, *Big Plans*, 90.
188 Krumholz, "A Retrospective View of Equity Planning Cleveland 1969–1979."
189 Ibid.

70 years earlier, planners wanted fare reductions and service improvements guarantees for Clevelanders. And like former Mayor Tom L. Johnson's campaign, it ultimately ended in a bitter compromise as they were only able to gain service and fare guarantees that would expire in three and five years, respectively, and by the time they did, Cleveland's experiment with Equity Planning was over[190].

4.6. BACK TO BUSINESS AS (UN)USUAL

While Cleveland's Equity Planners took a hard-line stance toward the city's economic development strategies in the interests of Cleveland's low and middle-income residents, the economic and spatial landscape of the American city was beginning to change. In an employment restructuring trend happening throughout the United States[191], Cleveland's manufacturing sector in 1950 accounted for 42 percent of its workforce, by 1980 it had fallen to 30 percent[192]. The president of a Cleveland-based manufacturer told *The Plain Dealer* in 1972 that "Cleveland will have to face up to the inevitable trend of industries being replaced by light manufacturing and service industries"[193]. He was right, and rather than continue the antagonistic stand of Equity Planners, the city adopted a pro-business downtown development plan known as the Civic Vision 2000 Plan[194].

The results, therefore, of this era of planning for Cleveland, roughly the decades 1980 to 2000, depends largely on your perspective. From an economic development perspective this was an important period for the city. Cleveland's transition to the new postmodern economy based on finance, services, and tourism could be shown in the construction of the Cleveland Clinic complex, two new skyscrapers, several sports stadia,

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[190] Ibid.
[191] David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford [England] ; Cambridge, Mass., USA: Blackwell, 1990).
[192] Miller, *Cleveland*.
[193] Ibid., 172.
[194] Chakalis et al., "A Century of Planning in Cleveland."

and the lakefront Rock & Roll Hall of Fame and Museum, almost all of which occurred in the city's downtown districts[195].

However, the transition to an economy based on providing services, from one based on production of goods, created a "permanent underclass" of workers unable to adjust to this restructuring[196]. Worse, much of the downtown development was accomplished using public subsidies and 20 year tax abatements, guaranteeing that residents will not receive service improvements from this so-called growth[197]. As a *Washington Post* reporter put it, "The New Cleveland is corporate headquarters, service and professional jobs, downtown construction, recreational and cultural amenities. The Old Cleveland is neighborhoods struggling against decay, double-digit unemployment, racial tension, factory closings, poverty, and long-suffering schools"[198]. However as we have seen, the contradiction between New and Old Cleveland has always existed in one fashion or another, and is one that current city planning, like past iterations, is almost powerless to resolve.

4.7. CLEVELAND'S 'NEW' URBANISM

At the Millennium, Cleveland was a city still shrinking, but its population had begun to stabilize at around 400,000. The development of the past two decades had made Cleveland a self-proclaimed "Comeback City"[199] and the future seemed brighter. However, despite this, many challenges remained, and new ones presented themselves. Undressed by the building boom was the city's continuing social fragmentation. A school

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[195] W. Dennis Keating and Norman Krumholz, "Downtown Plans of the 1980s: The Case for More Equity in the 1990s," *Journal of the American Planning Association* 57, no. 2 (1991): 136–152, doi:10.1080/01944369108975483.
[196] Miller, *Cleveland*, 184.
[197] Ibid., 186.
[198] Ibid., 190.
[199] Steven Litt, "Public Square Forum Reflects Mayor's Fresh View of City Planning," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, October 17, 2002), Final edition, sec. Arts & Life.

system in a shocking state of disarray and deterioration, neighborhoods plagued by drugs and crime, and the lack of middle-income jobs, were just a few of the problems facing the city. In short, these were problems caused by systemic issues that the city seemed powerless to arrest: class and racial prejudice, suburbanization, and deindustrialization. Planners in Cleveland, influenced by New Urbanism[200], a planning paradigm extolling the power of urban form, mixed-uses of buildings, and walkable neighborhoods to transform the city socially and economically, began to define the problem differently, however. Namely, it was the city's spatial fragmentation, which necessitates reconnecting the city's residential, cultural, and economic centers.

Cleveland, since the late 1800's, has had two poles: downtown and University Circle. Downtown was the center of entertainment and employment in the city; while University Circle was the location for tourism, culture, and education amid the presence of the Cleveland Orchestra, its multiple museums, institutes, and colleges. This separation was so clear that a "frenetic Clevelander, or tourist, could conceivably spend a week [in University Circle] without ever setting foot downtown"[201]. However, out of the new, postmodern economy arose two sprawling hospital campuses, both in University Circle, which became the city's largest employers. Meanwhile, a lakefront museum and science center development and a new strategy at Cleveland State University to turn it from a commuter school into a traditional university suddenly made downtown a self-contained cultural and tourist destination in its own right. The clear dichotomy that had more or less existed for 100 years in the city was being broken down and now instead of

[200] Steven Litt, "The Rebirth Euclid Corridor Project Has Already Brought $4.3 Billion in New Investment to the City.," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, February 10, 2008), Final edition, sec. National.
[201] Kolson, *Big Plans*, 63.

two hubs, one cultural, one economic, Cleveland now had two centers – separated by five miles.

Complicating matters further, the street linking them, Euclid Avenue, was in state of disrepair. If Downtown and University Circle were to be connected in a meaningful way, the tenets of New Urbanism suggested a re-cultivation of the city's lost street life by attracting pedestrian users of it. After decades of use as a high-traffic, commuter thoroughfare, it was determined that this would require nothing less than total redesign of Cleveland's most famous street.

4.8. EUCLID AVENUE: "MILLIONAIRES ROW" TO "DESOLATION ROW"

Easily the most symbolically important street in the city, the history of Euclid Avenue is essentially a mirror of Cleveland itself. Known during the city's industrial rise as "Millionaires Row", Euclid Avenue was called "the finest residential boulevard in the country" by Mark Twain[202]. Some 250 mansions and a doubled row of elms trees lined the avenue for five miles east from downtown (Figure 2). Residents, which included John D. Rockefeller and Charles Brush (founder of GE), spent huge sums of money on their homes and they were designed by the best architects of the day. The Avenue was more than just the address of mansions, however. Downtown, the avenue terminated at Public Square and served as Cleveland's commercial center, home to the city's professional offices and a flourishing shopping and entertainment district.

However, the combination of economic growth and Mayor Johnson's reformist policies brought an end to, in Jane Jacobs's words, "the suburban [Euclid] Avenue of large, fine houses, with large, fine grounds"[203]. By the 1920's Euclid Avenue became a

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[202] Jan Cigliano, *Showplace of America: Cleveland's Euclid Avenue, 1850-1910* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1991).
[203] Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, 225.

bustling, loud urban street. Euclid Avenue was definitively Cleveland's "main street", and, as one historian put it, "the single most integrating element in the city"[204]. Prior to WWII, travelling along Euclid Avenue as it begins at Public Square, one would have passed popular department stores and theatres downtown, the city's major Black residential neighborhoods of Central, Hough, and Fairfax, and the vibrant retail and entertainment district of Doan's Corners at 105th Street (Figure 3) all before reaching the city's cultural institutions in University Circle[205].

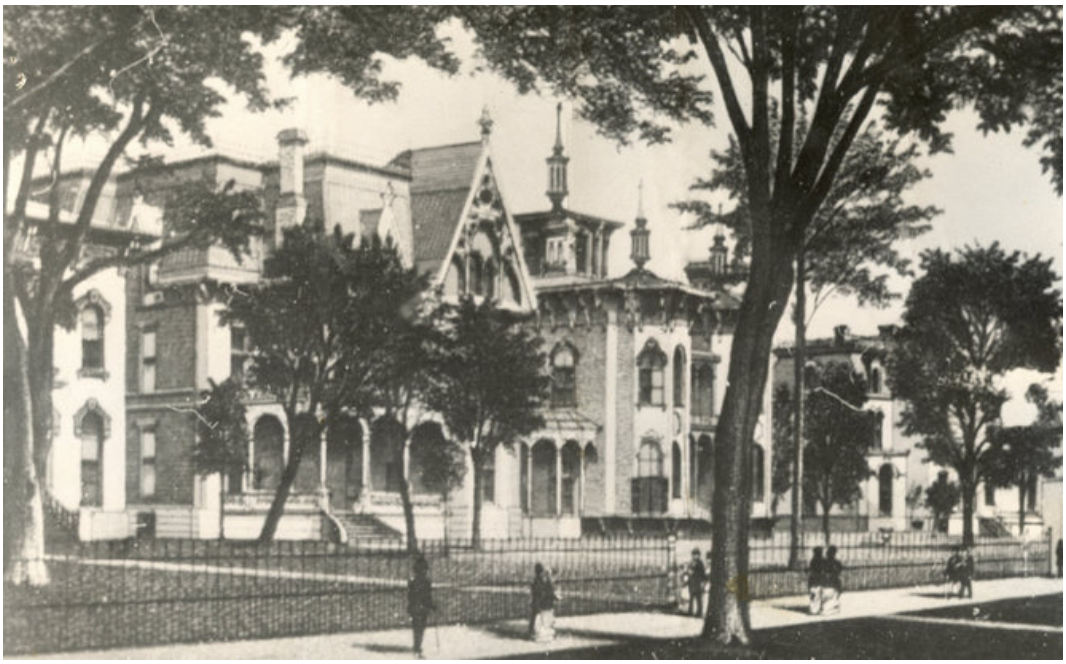

Figure 2: "Millionaires Row", Euclid Avenue late 19th Century[206]

[204] Cigliano, *Showplace of America*.
[205] John J. Grabowski and Diane Ewart Grabowski, *Cleveland Then and Now* (Thunder Bay Press, 2002).
[206] "Millionaires Row," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, accessed November 9, 2012, http://photos.cleveland.com/plain-dealer/2011/10/millionairesrowcczip_2.html.

Figure 3: 'Doan's Corners', Euclid Avenue at E. 105th circa 1920's[207]

Figure 4: Streetcars, buses, and cars share Euclid Avenue at E. 102nd, 1951[208]

[207] Grabowski and Grabowski, *Cleveland Then and Now*.

As 1950 was the high water mark for the city, so it was by extension, for Euclid Avenue, particularly in the area between downtown and University Circle (Figure 4). Over the next two decades urban renewal and suburbanization and would decimate the once working class neighborhoods between the city's two poles[209]. Race riots in Hough and a reviled school busing program led to the white flight that exacerbated the already tenuous economic make-up of the area. High- and middle-income residents left for the suburbs and the employers behind Euclid Avenue's many varieties of storefronts, warehouses, and entertainment districts vanished, leaving blocks of abandoned buildings, most of which were demolished in the years following[210]. The city's "single most integrating element" was reduced to expanses of blight and downtown was symbolically cut off from its cultural hub, University Circle. Euclid Avenue, once "Millionaires Row" and the pride of Cleveland, had become the place best described by the title of a Bob Dylan song – "desolation row" (Figure 5).

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[208] Lou Moore, *Streetcar Traffic on Euclid Avenue at E. 102 Intersection* Photo, 1951, http://images.ulib.csuohio.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/press&CISOPTR=1302&CISOBOX=1&REC=7.

[209] Keating, Krumholz, and Star, *Revitalizing Urban Neighborhoods*.

[210] Grabowski and Grabowski, *Cleveland Then and Now*.

Figure 5: 'Doan's Corners' in disrepair, Euclid Avenue at E. 105th, 1976[211]

4.9. EUCLID AVENUE AS BUS RAPID TRANSIT CORRIDOR

Public transit expansion along the Euclid Avenue corridor, seen as essential to economic revitalization, had actually been in the works for decades in Cleveland. The official story given by planners is that the project was initially conceived in the Downtown Cleveland 1975 Plan as a subway/light rail corridor and the shelved, despite a 1980 voter-approved bond for the project, after estimates pegged the cost at three quarters of a billion dollars[212]. Cleveland's then-Planning Director, Hunter Morrison, proposed dual, center-median bus lanes instead[213]. Morrison's concept was then combined with an

[211] Clay Herrick, *Euclid Avenue and East 105th Intersection* Photo, 1976, http://images.ulib.csuohio.edu/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/herrick&CISOPTR=110&CISOBOX=1&REC=19.
[212] Robert Brown, Director, Cleveland City Planning Commission In-person, Summer 2012.
[213] Ibid.

experimental rail-alternative system pioneered by Curitiba, Brazil, and the city was able reduce project costs by 75 percent without sacrificing service[214]. Using this experimental system, bus rapid transit, also gave Cleveland the opportunity to have three-quarters of the $200 million budget covered by Federal Transportation Administration and Ohio Department of Transportation grants[215]. Thus, a new phase of Euclid Avenue began, this time as Bus-Rapid-Transit Corridor.

Cleveland's version of BRT, along with being one of the first completed systems in the nation, is also considered to be the U.S.'s "gold standard"[216]. RTA, which manages the system and oversaw its design and construction, calls it "BRT-heavy" because it incorporates as many characteristics of light rail as possible[217]. The buses have dedicated lanes and traffic signals. Passengers purchase fare cards from touch screen kiosks in enclosed stations prior to boarding. The stations, not stops, are on raised platforms and are equipped with a security camera. Custom designed hybrid-diesel buses (Cleveland receives royalties on sales to other cities) equipped with GPS and a precision docking system allow for real-time arrival information and orderly boarding patterns (Figure 6).

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[214] Steven Litt, "Euclid Corridor Health Line Is a Strong RX for Cleveland's Once and Future Main Street," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, November 9, 2008, http://blog.cleveland.com/architecture/2008/11/_cleveland_a_city_fighting.html.
[215] Robert Brown, "Developing the Euclid Corridor," September 2011.
[216] Youker, "Now Boarding the 5:15 Express."
[217] Michael Schipper In-person, Summer 2012.

Figure 6: HealthLine at platform of E.14th Street station, Playhouse Square District

To address concerns that the new BRT system would not do enough to break the "race and class stigma"[218] attached to buses and expand use beyond captive riders, RTA also heavily branded the project to read "not a bus". The stations are designed to be eye-catching, the buses are called "rapid transit vehicles" and mimic light rail as much as possible in sight and even sound – trolley bells announce the buses arrival at stations. Beginning operation in late 2008, the Euclid Avenue BRT, servicing the former No. 6 bus route, was renamed the Silver Line, that is until the city sold the naming rights to University Hospitals and The Cleveland Clinic for $6.25 million[219]. It is now known as the "HealthLine" to Clevelanders. The route, already the most popular in the city, has seen a jump of 70% increase in ridership and now claims 13,000 riders daily, 12% of all

[218] Hess, "Race, Class, and the Stigma of Riding the Bus in America."
[219] Litt, "Cleveland's Rebound Rides on the Health Line."

public transit ridership in the city; 18% of those riders said they ordinarily would commute by car were it not for the "HealthLine"[220]. Thus far, ridership numbers have wildly exceeded RTA own estimates of a 10% increase in ridership over the previous No. 6 bus route by 2025[221].

Figure 7: An example of a curbside BRT station, Euclid Avenue at E. 115th Street. The recently complete "Uptown" project behind the station is also an example of new development that is occurring at BRT stops.

The design of the route and complete 'building face to building face' reconstruction of Euclid Avenue is perhaps the most important aspect of the project. The (on average) 99 foot right-of-way was re-designed for three distinct segments of the city: downtown, MidTown, and University Circle. Downtown, passengers traveling in both directions are picked up from a single center median station (Figure 6), as opposed to the

[220] Joe Calabrese, "Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority: HealthLine Ridership," 2012, http://sustainablecommunitiesleadershipacademy.org/resource_files/documents/Calabrese-Healthline-Ridership.pdf.
[221] Steven Litt, "Euclid Corridor Transit Designers at Critical Juncture," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, May 11, 2003), Final edition, sec. Sunday Arts.

midtown district, which has separate stations for East- and West-bound passengers – creating what is called a "ribbon flow" pattern. There is a left turn lane made available in the lane opposite the platform station every other block (Figure 8). The outside lanes are for auto traffic and space is given for a five foot bike lane – now the longest contiguous bike lane in the city (this is actually not in the original street section; it was a late addition thanks to insistent bike riders). The electric poles were buried underground enabling open, wide sidewalks to accommodate the hoped-for increased pedestrian traffic that goes along with the new priority given to the street's pedestrian users. Auto traffic is reduced from four lanes to the two outside lanes and street parking has been eliminated on one side of the street only (Figure 7).

Figure 8: An example of the system's center median stations, bus-only lanes, and priority signaling, Euclid Avenue at E. 105th Street.

The traffic pattern changes a final time as the BRT vehicles enter the University Circle district. Perhaps the only district on the route with both heavy auto and pedestrian traffic, University Circle has stayed a desirable area to live and work thanks to the two hospitals ("HealthLine" sponsors), Case Western Reserve University, and its many cultural amenities. In this very established neighborhood, there was much greater community resistance to changing traffic patterns. Therefore, the BRT is routed back to the outside lanes, which they share with auto traffic, and pick up passengers from curbside stations. This comprise allows for the district to maintain its street parking, something businesses were adamant about keeping.

The landscape – which will hopefully blossom with the care of the city – has also been transformed. Over 1,500 trees were planted along the avenue and they cannot help but give the street much needed definition, especially along the midtown section. Trees are *de rigueur* in great street design[222], and it has the added appeal of gesturing to the avenue's "Millionaire's Row" days as a boulevard. A variety of planters, hardscapes, and public art installments downtown are signs that the city is willing to go a long way in making the street hospitable for pedestrians again, while oral history kiosks at seventeen of the stations show a commitment to the importance of the each community's story. All these improvement speak to a clear desire to create a sense of place on Euclid Avenue using BRT.

The most ringing endorsement for the BRT corridor, however, is the over $5.8 billion in completed or approved projects along the seven mile corridor that stretches into the neighboring East Cleveland since the project's announcement[223]. From the redesign of Cleveland State University and the Cleveland Clinic to use Euclid Avenue as a 'front

[222] See for example, Allan B. Jacobs, *Great Streets* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1993).
[223] Steven Litt In-person, Summer 2012.

door' to the flowering of a dining and entertainment district downtown that includes housing, the project has been consider hugely successful by the press, planning scholars, and the city's planning community. However, while the dominant narrative of the BRT presented above was evident in my interviews with residents and stakeholders, it was also clear that this project represented much more than a functional street and transit improvement. In fact, given Cleveland's history with planning, public transit, and public space, not to mention the problematic rhetoric of bus rapid transit in general, the BRT project revealed as many contradictions as it settled.

Chapter 5: Findings and Analysis of the HealthLine

The previous three chapters have covered quite a bit of historical and theoretical ground and before continuing with the findings and analysis of the BRT I would like to briefly review of the material that I have presented thus far. To restate the aims of this study, I am attempting to better understand the linkage between Cleveland's development of bus rapid transit and the planning strategies which are embedded in urban public space formation. The city of Cleveland, as its historical development from a production-based economy to one based on service provision clearly shows, is closely tied to larger economic and cultural restructuring that is occurring in society. In this way, the city's development of the BRT provides us with a new public space that has emerged from this ongoing restructuring which we have subsumed, following Fredric Jameson, under the heading of 'postmodernity'. As a result, the logic of postmodernity can be said to be imprinted on its formation. The preceding chapters, ideally, have contextualized and made explicit what is at stake in this study. Specifically, that the BRT, through its vehicles, platforms, and the resulting pedestrian improvements on Euclid Avenue, can be considered an expansion of public space in the city and these spaces are 'new' in the sense that the BRT is a new phenomenon in the United States. What this newness requires is a critical analysis in order to situate it within theorizations of space in postmodernity as well as the historical and contemporary debates in planning about the purpose and necessity of public space in the city as detailed in Chapter 2. I argue in Chapter 3 that Fredric Jameson's method of textual analysis provides a framework that allows the flexibility for just such a widening movement and the following chapters will therefore consist of my findings and analysis based on a close 'reading' of the BRT through Jameson's method.

5.1. POSTMODERNISM ON THE HEALTHLINE

In the preceding chapter I gave a general description of the BRT or "HealthLine", and at this point I would like to provide a much deeper experiential description while simultaneously providing an analysis of the space, only now in terms of how it can be considered an example of 'postmodern space', as described earlier. I do not use the term 'experiential' lightly here, accessing and riding the HealthLine is very much a total sensory experience, and was designed intentionally as such. In stark contrast to the incredibly open, visually dramatic intervention that the physical platforms in the middle of Euclid Avenue represent (particularly in the downtown and MidTown sections), the HealthLine at the most basic level is actually quite difficult to access – legally that is. To begin with, the fare boxes from which one purchases the required $2.25 one-way fare, are incredibly cumbersome to use, to put it mildly. These monster electronic fare boxes have comically small type and are push-button (as opposed to touch-screen) operated. The fact that there are touch-screen Euclid Avenue Oral History kiosks on the platforms with the technologically outmoded fare boxes illustrates nicely how individual riders, by themselves, are besides the point for the HealthLine's purpose. Why the ticket vending fare boxes could not be similarly intuitive and easy to operate remains a point of exasperation for riders (more on this below).

To that point, the actual ticket-vending process requires at least seven steps before dispensing a fare card. That means pressing the correct button at least seven times, reading and aligning the screen arrows to the off-screen buttons correctly each time. I must admit, despite being a regular public transit rider in Washington, DC and the Bay Area while residing there, I was unable to correctly complete the process the first time I attempted to ride. My embarrassment was lessened over the next six weeks as I encountered many would-be paying riders completely baffled by the various menu

screens give up and walk away or, more often, simply board without a valid fare card. While one can immediately grasp the consequences this could have for tourists or other first-time riders, it has the potential to affect any rider who happens to be in a hurry and cannot risk the time it takes to go through the process. This in itself would not be so bad except that the penalty for riding without a valid fare card is so steep, psychologically if not always legally (more on this aspect coming). The issue has gotten so bad that *The Plain Dealer* editorial board has called for the immediate replacement of the machines and RTA has even refused to pay Xerox for them[224].

Assuming riders are able to buy a ticket – especially in that high-pressure situation of trying to work through a vending menu knowing that the HealthLine will be approaching any minute – the sound of trolley bells announces the arrival of the BRT vehicle and as it pulls up to the platform the rider is promptly confronted with the RTA's branding strategy. Emblazoned on the sides of the otherwise slick silver vehicles are the logos of the major sponsors behind its title of the "HealthLine": the Cleveland Clinic and University Hospitals, each paying $125,000 per year for the next 25 years for the naming rights and exclusive advertising space of the BRT vehicles. The heavy-handed marketing does not end there, as in addition to the BRT vehicles the individual stops are also available for purchase. Approaching a branded stop, riders are greeted by a computer-simulated female voice announcing that the associated station is "brought to you by [insert sponsor here]".

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[224] The Plain Dealer Editorial Board, "RTA Must Fix or Scrap Its Infernal Machines: Editorial," *The Plain Dealer*, June 30, 2012, sec. Editorial, http://www.cleveland.com/opinion/index.ssf/2012/06/rta_must_fix_or_scrap_its_infe.html; Tom Breckenridge, "RTA, Xerox Closer to Solving Problems with Ticket Machines Along Rapid Lines," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, June 30, 2012, http://www.cleveland.com/metro/index.ssf/2012/06/post_33.html.

In total, these initial, immediate conditions – the difficulties of access, the aggressive advertising strategy – bear important similarities to the postmodern "hyperspace" theorized by Fredric Jameson. The HealthLine, with its difficult, and at times disorienting, ticketing process required for legal entry brings to mind Jameson's analysis of the Bonaventure Hotel (or Mike Davis's analysis of the Goldwyn Public Library for that matter) – spaces with "seams" rather the entrances. In other words, the space by being so difficult to access would appear to discourage usage rather than encourage it. Of course, we know from our earlier review of postmodernism that these spaces invariably contain a 'market logic' and in this manner can be considered designed to dissuade certain types of users. We can say that users are thus sorted into two groups, roughly speaking, those targeted by advertisers and those who are not. Thus, by looking at the entities that have purchased the advertisement space of the HealthLine we can see who the privileged riders of the system are (i.e. those targeted by advertisers), since the reason businesses would place advertisements on the BRT would be the perceived ability to gain marketing access to the demographic groups they believe would purchase their products. A brief survey of the BRT's major advertisers: the two aforementioned hospitals, Cleveland State University, and Medical Mutual of Ohio reveals rather neatly the popular "eds and meds" strategy of contemporary planning, and other circles, as an urban redevelopment strategy. The two hospitals are technically non-profits, however, their tax-exempt status should not cloud the fact these entities have annual incomes (i.e. 'profits') of hundreds of million dollars and are currently under state and local scrutiny to provide justification for their property tax exemptions[225]. However, given that by itself

[225] Chris Seper, "Cleveland Clinic System Worth $8.9 Billion to Ohio," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, May 28, 2008, http://blog.cleveland.com/medical/2008/05/cleveland_clinic_system_worth.html.

the Cleveland Clinic is the second largest employer in the state (nearly 40,000 workers), it seems doubtful they face a serious threat to their non-profit status.

5.2. HYPERSPACE IN THE INDUSTRIAL CITY

This seeming digression into the HealthLine's sponsors actually leads into an important point. By itself, the HealthLine as outlined above does perhaps require a bit of a conceptual leap to be compared to a public space like a library, let alone the private space of a mega-hotel and shopping mall. Where this analysis can be brought more clearly back under Jameson's categorization is when it is considered as part of the larger system of postmodern hyperspace along Euclid Avenue. As detailed in the preceding chapter, Euclid Avenue connects Cleveland's two major activity centers, downtown and University Circle. These activity centers can be reduced even further to a connection between the city's most important congregation points: the Cleveland Clinic (and to a lesser extent the smaller University Hospitals just down the street) and Tower City Center and Public Square. And it is in the spaces of the Cleveland Clinic and Tower City Center where we will find the logic of hyperspace that becomes present in the HealthLine, and therefore, it is necessary to provide brief analyses of these spaces before continuing.

Figure 9: The Cleveland Clinic's Sydell and Arnold Miller Family Pavilion, Euclid Avenue at E. 93rd Street[226]

I was told by several of the planning and design professionals whom I interviewed that not only is the Cleveland Clinic campus 'completely open to the public' but that experiencing it was even required in order to understand the changes to Euclid Avenue[227]. The giant 140-acre, 41-building Cleveland Clinic campus is anchored by the newly completed 10-story Sydell and Arnold Miller Family Pavilion at Euclid Avenue and East 93rd Street (Figure 9). This 1.3 million square foot structure was designed to provide, along with the tree-lined, meticulously landscaped green space stretching across Euclid Avenue all the way to Chester Avenue, a gateway to the hospital's campus. This monumental composition, with its glittering green reflective glass exterior that cups a

[226] "Sydell and Arnold Miller Family Pavilion - Cleveland Clinic," *Cleveland City Planning Commission*, accessed November 9, 2012, http://planning.city.cleveland.oh.us/projects/assets/projectID5_65.jpg.
[227] Litt, interview.

giant circular fountain and automobile roundabout, is quite visually stunning, especially at night. To get in and around the building is another matter altogether.

Arriving via the HealthLine, one is immediately greeted by a Cleveland Clinic police officer who is posted at the bottom of the station platform directing the quite substantial waves of pedestrians across Euclid Avenue (far from an anecdotal piece of information, the security of the Clinic and, more generally, Euclid Avenue will be addressed later at some length). Once inside the hospital, due to the massiveness and interconnectedness of the spaces, I felt immediately unable to find my bearings. To borrow Jameson's phrase, as soon as you enter "you are in this hyperspace up to your eyes and your body"[228]: the rush of activity, intense but not at all urgent, recalls the lobby of an upscale hotel rather than a hospital. An immense circular reception desk bathed in natural light structures the human traffic around it and into several options of corridors. Arbitrarily following one I passed gift shops, a shoe store, a bookstore, and finally a food court before being overcome with a sudden fear that I did not know how to get back. This disorientation must be completely normal because, strategically placed in the center of most ground floor corridors, are uniformed 'ambassadors' ready to provide directions. But, despite being armed with specific directions I was unable to find my way to the elevators of the Sydell and Arnold Miller Family Pavilion to achieve my ultimate goal of viewing Euclid Avenue from its 10th floor observation deck. The reason for my failure might be accounted in the way the expansive, endless corridors are designed to do much more than just channel people through the hospital. These spaces contain an impressive variety of activities, including several for conversation and others for self-reflection and relaxation. Since there are no walls it appears these spaces are differentiated by

[228] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 43.

soundtrack: meditative, new-age music being played from unseen speakers for the reflective spaces, while the chairs grouped around a grand piano signal an environment that is perhaps for more creative, lively, and spontaneous interactions. This variety of fluid spaces, in combination with the Clinic's penchant for naming buildings after individual donors or families (the Taussig Cancer Center, Cole Eye Institute, Jennings Center, etc), makes finding ones way by traditional way-finding methods – color-coding, cardinal directions, for example – practically impossible.

I was finally forced to give up when I ended up on an elevated skyway running parallel to Euclid Avenue. From that vantage point I could see where I wanted go, but, like the punch-line of an old joke, it seemed clear that I could not get there from here. Jameson's ultimate point, "that we do not yet possess the perceptual equipment to match this new hyperspace"[229], suddenly felt much more like reality than the hyperbole I considered it to be when I first read the passage a year earlier. But, the "miniature city"[230] that is the Cleveland Clinic is not the only space which "aspires to being a total space, a complete world"[231] in the city: it is just perhaps Cleveland's most extreme example of this particular characteristic of postmodernity.

Tower City Center, or the Terminal Tower, as it was called prior to 1990, was perhaps the first example in Cleveland of this phenomenon we have been referring to as hyperspace (Figure 10). As discussed in the previous chapter, the Terminal Tower as originally designed was a "city-within-a-city"[232], structured so residents of Shaker Heights could go from their suburban homes into the city without actually needing to go into the city to work, dine, or shop. A kind a pre-echo to hyperspace, as it were. The

[229] Ibid., 38.
[230] Ibid., 40.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Kolson, *Big Plans*, 66.

building's new name – Tower City Center – can then be viewed as both a restatement of its past and descriptor of its future goal, considering postmodern space "does not wish to be a part of the city but rather its equivalent and replacement or substitute"[233]. Tower City Center then can be thought of as the postmodern re-imagination of the city's primary landmark, and a space that also, for a variety of reasons, perfectly illustrates the tension between the city's development agenda and largely poor and working class residents.

Figure 10: Tower City Center, interior[234]

[233] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 40.
[234] "Tower City," *Downtown Cleveland Alliance*, accessed November 9, 2012, http://www.downtowncleveland.com/umbraco/images/profile/TaskImages/Image/19757a6ce514406bba5c7f4dfc80c63f_SkylightConcourse2.jpg.

While the original Terminal Tower may have aspired to provide a complete world for its users, in practice this was impossible, mainly because it was the city's main train terminal for both intercity (the Rapid), and regional, trains. This, combined with the building's position on the corner of the Cleveland's most significant public space, Public Square, meant that it was virtually impossible to prevent anyone from accessing its publicly open spaces. In the late 1970's, during some of the city's darkest days, the complex's redevelopment as Tower City Center was proposed. Despite failing to gain the approval of the Planning Commission, the city's "Equity Planners" objected to the tax-abatements and public financing of the project, the Tower City concept went forward and by the time it opened in 1990, the original train platforms were dismantled and a three-story upscale shopping mall stood in its place. The RTA's modest three-line rapid transit system was placed underneath, with escalators depositing riders on the mall's ground (second) floor.

Over the past twenty years the mall's original upscale designs have been tempered by Cleveland's economic realities, and it currently houses a combination of modest retailers found in any suburb, although it has retained its two luxury hotels. This situation allows us to conceptualize the tension between Tower City's desired consumers and its actual ones in terms of buying power. In other words, we can think of it as the disconnection between the desired wealthy patrons and the primarily lower and middle income users whom the mall now must cater to in order to fill the retail spaces.

If we consider Tower City Center with its dialectical opposite as it were, Public Square, this relationship becomes a bit clearer. It is within these two spaces, one public, the other semi-public, where the city's struggle with this disconnection of imaginary and reality is fought out. Public Square from this perspective is the "fallen city", the site of drug users, the mentally ill, the homeless, and, because it is a primary locus of RTA's bus

system, a gathering point for the city's transit dependent population, some 4,000 people daily[235]. This is a public space that is dangerous and unpredictable, necessitating periodic "cleaning up" for large public gatherings. It is also in the midst of a massive (re)visioning and redesign process in the hopes of spurring economic development[236]. Meanwhile, the directly adjacent space of Tower City Center is the place downtown to safely shop, dine, and relax with its hotels, Cineplex, and three-floors of retail. The fact that this is the locus of RTA's rail system further speaks to the desired user divide of the two spaces (the bus user vs. the rail user) – in the abstract at least.

In reality the situation is a bit more fluid and thus more complex: the connection between Public Square and Tower City Center being enhanced and complicated by public transportation. Rather than neatly sorting users by transit mode (and thus purchasing power), the two spaces are conjoined by the daily rush of riders transferring from one mode to the other, and each can be seen reacting quite differently to the situation. What this relationship gives Public Square is a constant refreshing of users, a bustle of activity, a singularly urban feeling that startlingly few places in Cleveland have. However, on the other hand, this same relationship is viewed by Tower City Center management as an unruly burst of humanity. In my interview with Robert Brown current Director of the City Planning Commission he noted the constant tension between Tower City's function as public transit hub and private consumer space by explaining that its management is continually complaining to the city that "unruly teenagers and poor people are frightening away shoppers"[237]. In this manner we again see Jameson's point that hyperspace's aim to

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[235] Thomas Ott, "Cleveland Police Chief Outlines Casino Security Plan," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, April 5, 2012, http://www.cleveland.com/metro/index.ssf/2012/04/cleveland_police_chief_outline.html.

[236] Steven Litt, "Cleveland Mayor Frank Jackson Envisions Unified Public Square as Symbol of Greener City," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, August 29, 2011), Final edition, http://blog.cleveland.com/architecture/2011/10/cleveland_mayor_frank_jackson.html.

[237] Robert Brown, Director, Cleveland City Planning Commission, interview.

provide a total, complete alternative to the surrounding city is clearly impossible. This perceived conflict between the strategies of controllable, privatized space and the unruly public space is especially apparent at their intersections, and the reason for the 'seams' of hyperspace, "hence the downplaying", as Jameson argues, "of the entrances to a bare minimum"[238]. The consequence of this aim, however impossible, is its accompanying security apparatus that is deemed necessary to protect the space from encroachments by people who do not belong. This important consequence is an aspect of postmodern public space that we will come back to.

For now, before moving on I would like to simply point out that the two most recently constructed spaces on Euclid Avenue, perhaps not at all surprisingly, are a casino and an art museum. The Horseshoe Casino (connected to Tower City Center), which opened in May (Figure 11), brought with it an army of "ambassadors" – its preferred term for security guards – increased police patrols of neighboring public spaces (Figure 12), and another round of discourse on "cleaning up" the adjacent Public Square[239]. The Farshid Moussavi-designed Museum of Contemporary Art (MOCA) in University Circle which opened in October (Figure 13) brings yet another "signature" building to University Circle. The neighborhood is also home to the (estimated) $61.7 million Frank Gehry-designed Peter B. Lewis Building, which, despite recent efforts to rehabilitate its image as a failure[240], has regardless not had the desired "Bilbao effect (i.e. total city transformation) on this industrial city. Undeterred, city leaders hope Moussavi's MOCA will encourage occupancy of, and growth around, the brand-new,

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238 Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 41.
239 Thomas Ott, "Cleveland Police Make Presence Felt on Public Square in Advance of Casino Opening (gallery)," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, May 7, 2012, http://www.cleveland.com/metro/index.ssf/2012/05/cleveland_police_make_presence.html.
240 Steven Litt, "Now 10 Years Old, the Peter B. Lewis Building Is Quietly Transforming Business Education at CWRU," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, November 10, 2012, 10, http://blog.cleveland.com/architecture/2012/11/the_10-year_old_peter_b_lewis.html.

mixed-use Uptown project[241]. Regardless of the intention, these spaces put an exclamation point on the increasing postmodernization of Cleveland's urban landscape.

Figure 11: Horseshoe Casino and Terminal Tower, viewed from Public Square[242]

[241] Keith Schneider, "Cleveland Ignites Job Growth With Rebuilding Project," *The New York Times*, November 29, 2011, sec. Real Estate / Commercial, https://www.nytimes.com/2011/11/30/realestate/commercial/cleveland-ignites-job-growth-with-rebuilding-project.html.

[242] Lynn Ischay, "The Horseshoe Cleveland Grand Opening in May 2012," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, May 15, 2012, http://media.cleveland.com/casino_impact/photo/pdstock-horseshoe-casinojpg-a82796a4b7a8cd70.jpg.

Figure 12: Mounted Cleveland Police officers at casino's Public Square entrance[243]

Figure 13: Museum of Contemporary Art in University Circle, viewed from Euclid Avenue[244]

[243] Paul Tople, "Cleveland Mounted Patrol Officers Pose for a Photo Before the Grand Opening of the Horseshoe Casino on Monday in Cleveland.," *Akron-Beacon Journal Online*, May 14, 2012, http://www.ohio.com/polopoly_fs/1.307049.1337039389!/image/image.jpg_gen/derivatives/landscape_500/casino15-01.jpg.

5.3. THE FUNCTION OF THE HEALTHLINE IN HYPERSPACE: SIMULACRUM

To return to our original subject of the HealthLine, what we are left with after the detailed articulations of the Cleveland Clinic and Tower City is the now essential function the HealthLine is intended to play in linking these two hyperspaces into a virtual closed system of an economic development strategy. Grasped simultaneously, it makes sense therefore that the HealthLine would contain the traces of the development styles and strategies that produced these larger, total spaces. It is here we have the initial signs, so far only hinted at, that the HealthLine serves a purpose larger than just pure transportation. From its initial conception, the HealthLine was designed to not be just a bus[245]. From the permanency, and eye-catching architecture of the stations, to their raised platforms, even down to the actual vehicles, everything is designed to mimic light rail.

For example, the re-design of Euclid Avenue to accommodate BRT's need for dedicated, signal-prioritized lanes foregrounds the HealthLine's endless, 24-hour scoring of veritable 'tracks' into the city's main street. The symbolic tracks that carve up Euclid Avenue correspond to a very real reduction of its traffic lanes to single east- and west-bound lanes, causing many residents to deride the project for rendering the street useless to drive on. But unlike the parallel ribbons of steel that made up the streetcar tracks of Euclid Avenue's past, which represented public transit as much as the actual streetcar did, this new sign system is fleeting: like an image flickering on computer screen it vanishes as soon as the HealthLine rushes past. In this way, the sign system of the HealthLine, despite the valiant effort of the platform architecture to "represent movement", replaces the older, modernist functionality of the street with something that

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[244] Dean Kaufman, *MOCA Cleveland Exterior Euclid Avenue* Photo, 2012, http://www.archdaily.com/283038/update-moca-farshid-moussavi/.
[245] Calabrese, "Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority: HealthLine Ridership."

"can only be represented in motion"[246]. To be more specific, the problem of representation that Jameson described as characteristic of postmodernism is evident in the difficulty of Euclid Avenue now to accommodate the codes of older, modernist street – reduced now to a single-lane, the street is no longer useful for cars, and because of the five-mile gap between University Circle and downtown, it is also not easily walkable (with few reason to do so, anyway). Therefore, the new Euclid Avenue can only be thought of, experienced, represented while in motion (on the HealthLine), providing further evidence of the desire of postmodern space, as it were, to replace conceptually, as well as physically, the older city – signified here by its very forms of movement, namely, walking and driving.

This strategy goes deeper than just the reconstruction of Euclid Avenue for the BRT – it also is intended to look, sound, and feel like 'not-a-bus'. From the streetcar-era nostalgia of the electronic bells that signal the HealthLine's arrival to the "seamless" integration of vehicles and platforms borrowed from the system in Curitiba, Brazil – raised platforms and docking processes so there are no gaps or steps, multiple doors for easy on- and off-boarding. Finally, even the vehicles open configuration, giving riders at least four distinct seating arrangements, all are meant to provide the rail-like experience of allowing riders to plenty of room to stand.

But, of course, this is not light rail, it is a simulated version, or more precisely, a simulacrum of light rail: a perfect copy without an original, pieced together with de-contextualized bits of global best practices and local nostalgia. Thus, the HealthLine as light rail simulacrum is designed as such not for any real functional purpose, but to provide the catalyst for development, something that many believe buses do not, and

[246] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 45.

cannot, provide[247]. If we consider this in combination with transit-oriented development's fetishizing of light rail as the object that will guarantee economic development we can understand what Jameson means when he writes that "no doubt that the logic of the simulacrum does more than merely replicate the logic of late capitalism; it reinforces it and intensifies it"[248]. Cleveland, faced with the impossibly high costs of building light rail, instead opted for a simulacrum of it, betting that developers would respond as if it were a train. The HealthLine, is this manner, is made to interact primarily, not with residents and riders, but with the land development markets. The $5.8 billion in development along the route since its implementation speaks as much to the truth of the simulacrum as it does to the success of U.S. bus rapid transit. In the following sections we will look at how the HealthLine functions outside of its capacity to generate economic development dollars.

5.4. MILITARIZATION OF EUCLID AVENUE AND THE HEALTHLINE

For this new spatial production of postmodernity, looking and sounding like light rail is not enough, however. As Mike Davis' articulation of the militarization of public space makes clear, beneath the glittering surfaces of the market-driven hyperspace lies a burgeoning public and private security apparatus designed to militarize city life at the street level.

The security apparatus of the HealthLine, Euclid Avenue, and the city of Cleveland is far from hidden; in fact, quite the contrary. The Cleveland Police Department, with over 1,600 officers, is per capita the ninth-largest police force in the

[247] Rob Curry, Executive Director, Cleveland Housing Network In-person, Summer 2012.
[248] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism," 46.

nation, ahead of cities like Los Angeles, Dallas, Atlanta, Detroit and Boston[249]. The city is the 47th largest in the country in terms of population, but maintains the 24th largest police force by the same metric[250]. This is not simply the vestige of a large institution serving a formerly large city. The Cleveland Police Department has actually grown by 8.8% since 2004 – in stark contrast to number of police officers in other cities with shrinking populations such as Baltimore, St. Louis, and Philadelphia, which are declining along with their populations. In other words, the city of Cleveland, with one out of every three of its residents living in poverty (the second highest rate of poverty among U.S. cities)[251], is one of the most heavily policed places in the country.

Not surprisingly, the epicenter of law enforcement in the city is Euclid Avenue. The Cleveland Police Department already has one station within a block of the avenue (the 3rd District), and it is in the process of constructing a new station that will front Euclid. And while the Cleveland Police maintain jurisdiction over the city, the avenue itself is broken up into multitudinous, fragmentary security zones. In fact, by my count there are nine other law enforcement entities with deputized officers that patrol jurisdictions on, or just off, Euclid Avenue: RTA police, which polices the HealthLine and platforms; Cleveland State University Police; Cleveland Clinic Police; University Circle, Inc. Police; University Hospitals Police; Case Western Reserve University Police; Cuyahoga Housing Authority Police; Cuyahoga County Police; and finally, the City of East Cleveland Police. This fragmentation, I argue, is an example in the extreme of the militarization of public space. Especially when considering that four of these agencies

[249] Brian A. Reaves, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008*, Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies Series (Washington, D.C: U.S. Department of Justice, July 2011), http://bjs.ojp.usdoj.gov/content/pub/pdf/csllea08.pdf.
[250] Ibid.
[251] Rich Exner, "Cleveland's Poverty Is Second Among Big Cities; Gap Between Rich and Poor Grows Nationally," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, September 28, 2010, http://www.cleveland.com/datacentral/index.ssf/2010/09/clevelands_poverty_is_second_a.html.

represent private, institutional interests in the city (two hospitals, a private university, and a community development corporation). Far from just glorified security guards, these private departments work alongside the publicly controlled police forces to patrol the entire city in an integrated relationship described, by University Circle, Inc. and Cleveland Clinic police officers in separate interviews with the author, as working "seamlessly"[252]. Thus, far from private entities replacing public police forces, in Cleveland, we have a rise in public police officers accompanying a rise in private police forces are well.

During my time in Cleveland, I found at least one representative of the city's security apparatus to be a universal sight on Euclid Avenue, whether on foot or in patrol cars. However, of all these agencies, I was particularly struck by the visibility and presence of two: the Cleveland Clinic Police and the RTA Police. As I mentioned above, whether traveling by car or the HealthLine, it is nearly impossible to miss the Clinic police on Euclid Avenue. In my trips by the Clinic I was struck by their constant presence at the base of the HealthLine platform fronting the main entrance on Euclid Avenue, where an officer serves as what can only be considered as a kind of hyper-crossing guard. These officers are armed, able to arrest and detain, and according to my interviews with them, are more highly trained than the City of Cleveland Police[253]. While certainly this should provide piece of mind as to the protection of staff and visitors, it has much more complex ramifications for the surrounding public.

According to marketing materials, the Cleveland Clinic Police Department is "the third-largest police force in NE Ohio" and patrols what works out to be less than a quarter

[252] Staff Sergeant David Leff In-person, Summer 2012; Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 1 In-person, Summer 2012; Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 2 In-person, Summer 2012.
[253] Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 2, interview.

(.21 sq/m) square mile area. Operating out of their headquarters on Euclid Avenue, the non-union, private Cleveland Clinic police force is responsible for providing security for the campus, its facilities and all personnel and visitors[254]. However, they are also empowered to act as a certified police department within the state of Ohio, and although they represent private interests, "they are effectively state actors"[255]. As a result, their jurisdictional boundary is blurry to say the least, as a recent incident – where two officers forcibly entered a man's home, used racial slurs, threatened his elderly parents, and then beat him repeatedly with batons and tasers after he was suspected of violating the speed limit – attests (the incident was the subject of a civil rights law suit in US District Court; all charges against the police officers were dismissed[256]).

Where this becomes interesting for purposes of public space came out in my discussions of the Cleveland Clinic Police Department's 'role' on Euclid Avenue with two of its officers. Both of these officers immediately pointed out that the Cleveland Clinic is between two of the most dangerous neighborhoods in the city and that they were necessary to protect employees, visitors, and Clinic property, but also to keep out "riff-raff"[257]. From this perspective, the Clinic becomes an outpost, a 'beachhead' to use Mike Davis's term, of safety in the dangerous and unpredictable city. Outsiders are viewed with suspicion, and by posting officers at the public seams of the Clinic's private space: Euclid Avenue, generally, and the HealthLine platform specifically, the Clinic has effectively annexed the space for its narrower, private interests, essentially, that the space should be used to provide access to its products and services. My use of language

[254] Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 1, interview; Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 2, interview.
[255] Judge Dan Aaron Polster, Essex Hayward et al. vs. Cleveland Clinic Foundation et al. (United States District Court Northern District of Ohio Eastern Division 2012).
[256] Ibid.
[257] Cleveland Clinic Police Officer 2, interview.

typically associated with economic development is intentional. Even though the Clinic is a non-profit it is perhaps more than any single entity a symbol of gentrification, due to what its campus replaced – the entertainment district of Doan's Corners – and its aggressive expansion into some of the most economically distressed areas of Cleveland.

While the Cleveland Clinic police represent the most visible (though by no means only) aspect of Euclid Avenue's militarization, the Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority (RTA) Police can be seen as the equivalent within the spaces of the HealthLine itself. The RTA police are not merely 'transit cops', they are one of the twenty largest transportation-agency police forces in the nation[258] and control a network of surveillance so large they have begun drawing Orwellian comparisons to "Big Brother"[259]. While monitoring a total of 2,300 security cameras, perhaps no space in the city is as heavily surveilled as the new public spaces on Euclid Avenue of the HealthLine. Every single BRT-vehicle has both interior and exterior cameras, and each of the line's 59 stations is equipped with video surveillance, including a new system of 32 cameras collecting video "which can be shared with police departments in Cleveland, East Cleveland, Cleveland State University, University Circle, Case Western Reserve University and Cleveland Clinic"[260]. The RTA justifies this stunning level of surveillance as necessary for assisting with crash investigations. While this is no doubt the case, citizens should be wondering whether forfeiting the expectation of anonymity every moment they use a public space is worth the improved ability of the RTA to investigate accidents, after all, police and insurance companies have managed without such technology for generations.

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[258] Reaves, *Census of State and Local Law Enforcement Agencies, 2008*.
[259] Michael K. McIntyre, "Greater Cleveland Regional Transit Authority Travels a Long Way to Find a Consultant: Michael K. McIntyre's Tipoff," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, August 12, 2012, http://www.cleveland.com/tipoff/index.ssf/2012/08/greater_cleveland_regional_tra.html.
[260] Ibid.

Of course, admittedly on its own the high levels of surveillance would not amount to a "militarization" of the spaces of the HealthLine. However, this strategy accompanies intensive methods designed to deter fare-jumping that can only be described in the terms of a raid, and has inspired a fear among riders that is expressed in conversation and behavior. As noted earlier, the HealthLine requires that riders purchase tickets at stations, not on the bus. In other words, nothing prevents a rider from walking on the HealthLine and riding all day for free. To deter this behavior, the RTA police seem to have developed a strategy involves the marshaling of an overwhelming force in order to gain immediate capitulation – essentially, a "Powell Doctrine" for fare enforcement.

During my time on the HealthLine I witnessed four such raids, and each time I was so struck by their coordination, speed, and effectiveness that it requires some elaboration here. As best as I can tell, multiple officers (I counted as many as four), wait on the platform of an upcoming station. As the HealthLine approaches and stops, the officers fan out so that each of the three exits are blocked. An officer then boards the vehicle from the front shouting to passengers to see their fare cards (I witnessed this done in both a polite manner, and in a way I can only characterize as startlingly aggressive). The officer moves through the entire vehicle while his fellow officers question the off-boarding riders. If a passenger does not have a valid fare card they are pulled off the bus and fined $25. But, if this fine is not paid within three days, the violator pays court costs of $170 - $200; more than two violations unpaid after two years results in a criminal citation. Juvenile violators must pay the fine within thirty days or they will be reported to county's Juvenile Division[261].

[261] Tom Breckenridge, "RTA Enforcement of Fare Evasion on HealthLine Discriminates Against Blacks, ACLU and NAACP Say," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, December 15, 2012, http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2010/12/rta_enforcement_of_fare_evasio.html.

This enforcement system, I argue, is not really about enforcement. It targets only the most egregious violators – mainly the homeless and mentally ill, while inadvertently punishing first time users. The officers, because they are under pressure not to delay the HealthLine anymore than necessary, do not check the time stamp on the card, only that riders have one. Thus savvy fare-jumpers simply need to carry a once-valid pass to avoid being fined (this fact is freely discussed by regular fare-jumping riders). First-time users are then inexplicably further punished for not being able to correctly work the complicated ticketing process and, in my experience, often board without fare cards.

However, what this system does do successfully is generate fear, and currently, this procedure for assigning fare violations is under fire by civil rights groups for being racially discriminatory[262]. But nothing so far is being said about the raids themselves, which are de-humanizing affairs, a wholly unnecessary showing of armed security forces in poor, minority neighborhoods. Tellingly, I heard about these procedures of the RTA well before I saw them myself. I regularly overheard riders trading accounts of everything from perceived excessive force by RTA officers to possible Fourth Amendment violations by RTA officers who used the fare violation to search through a rider's belongings. While being shouted at to produce a ticket by an armed, uniformed officer under certain circumstances is quite terrifying, the process of removal from the HealthLine is what is completely inhumane. As described earlier, the HealthLine serves some of the poorest neighborhoods in the city, and I have a hard time believing this would be tolerated in wealthier sections of society. After all, it is the equivalent of forcing drivers to walk to their destinations after citing them for speeding, with no regard

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[262] Gabriel Baird, "Blacks Being Ticketed in High Numbers for Not Paying RTA Fares in Cleveland," *The Plain Dealer - Cleveland.com*, December 12, 2010, http://blog.cleveland.com/metro/2010/12/blacks_ticketed_in_high_number.html; Breckenridge, "RTA Enforcement of Fare Evasion on HealthLine Discriminates Against Blacks, ACLU and NAACP Say."

for the driver's physical condition or the conditions outside. Seen from this perspective it is clear that these are strategies designed to intimidate and control, and in this manner, the HealthLine disciplines and tolerates its primary users (poor and working class African Americans). Disturbingly, these strategies are simultaneously accomplished using a sign system of safety and affluence designed to attract wealthier riders.

5.5. THE SPATIAL PRACTICES OF THE HEALTHLINE

The preceding analysis paints a rather pessimistic picture of the HealthLine as a public space, and while I firmly believe it fits with conceptions of hyperspace and the militarization of public space in postmodernity, riders, despite the challenges laid out above, have managed through of variety of what Certeau called 'spatial practices' to erode these mechanisms of control. The space of the HealthLine in this manner, has been appropriated by the everyday 'tactics' of its users to constitute an essential, and vibrant, public space in Cleveland.

One of the first things I noticed when I began riding the HealthLine was the way it served as a social space for its users. The HealthLine is where friends catch up, acquaintances reconnect, strangers swap stories about who has a worse boss, teenagers let loose after a day in class, and even, where people pick up dates. Interestingly, these interactions seem to happen less on the platforms than on the HealthLine itself – it is as if the spatial configuration provides just enough privacy through its enclosure to talk, but yet the right amount of openness to not feel cornered at the same time. The vehicle has five groupings of seating configurations, and at times the conversations got so loud that I could not hear the announcement of the next stop. The more I rode the more reasons for this surfaced. But, it is my belief that the primary reason for the highly social conditions of the HealthLine is its large amount of regular riders. Within a week of riding I began to

see familiar faces, within a month I knew well the behavior of dozens of the HealthLine's more lively personalities.

These riders, often on their way to, and from, jobs downtown or University Circle have made the space their own in more than just purely social ways. What I mean is that the HealthLine can also be seen as an important civic space in the city, in that it houses the polite, courteous, and in other words, civil actions of residents. This took the form one day of a group of loud, unruly teenagers – so intimidating that other riders moved to the back of the vehicle to avoid them – helping a disabled man fasten his wheelchair to the floor without anyone asking them to do so, giving up their seats in the process. In another example, during one especially busy day a young, Black man who looked and sat with what I thought was a particularly menacing glower graciously offered his seat to an elderly White man who was having difficulties standing. These small events of civility far outnumbered those in which riders were rude or aggressive to one another.

A hallmark of public space is its ability to provide the venue for political activity, and the HealthLine, despite its heavily controlled environment is able to provide just such a space. While riding home one evening two workers for the non-profit advocacy group Environment Ohio got on and began collecting signatures for their campaign to stop the rollback of greenhouse gas emissions legislation in the state. When I asked them about their decision to include the HealthLine in their strategy to gatherer petitions, one of the workers responded that it was because that is "where the people are" and the length between stops gives them enough time to give their pitch and for people to read and sign. In a city whose population of 395,000 is spread across an area that used to contain nearly 1 million, gathering points are few and far between.

The ways in which the space of HealthLine can be considered appropriated by users is, of course, in the ways it flouts the "strategies" of RTA to control behavior.

These user tactics are most obvious if considered in terms of rules. Rule-breaking is incredibly common on the HealthLine: people regularly eat and drink while riding (which is forbidden), bring on contraband, and jaywalk to, and from, the center-lane platforms. Two of these behaviors are seem to be done in blatant disregard for RTA's (and the city's) policies, mainly the eating/drinking and jaywalking. There are a number of fast-food places on Euclid Avenue and individual and groups often seem to use their time on the HealthLine to eat their meals, despite signs everywhere prohibiting it. Also, in spite of newly designed crosswalks with pedestrian count-down signals (the only ones in the city), most people step off the platform and cross in the middle of the street. This behavior is especially flagrant (and entertaining) at the stop immediately before Public Square which riders use instead of waiting to ride around the entire square to get to the Tower City Center station. During rush hours riders stop traffic in the middle of the street while traffic cops watch helplessly as scores of rushing riders jaywalk *en masse* right in front of them.

These tactics are not always done flagrantly. Occasionally I witnessed riders bring on illegal materials which they took out intending either to sell it or show it off covertly. This contraband took the form one day of bootlegged DVD's which a man walked slowly down the aisle enticing passengers to buy in whisper: "DVDs, two for five, five for ten". I even once saw a delivery boy for the sandwich chain Jimmy John's bring on a box of sandwiches, presumably using the HealthLine to make a delivery, ingeniously avoiding the bad weather he would have had to brave if on foot. Still, other times these tactics took the form of riders bringing on marijuana, rolling it in 'blunts' (joints rolled up in Black and Mild cigars) and attempting to sell them to other passengers. This behavior often met the silent disapproval of other passengers and in this way we can see the ways in which within a seemingly homogenous group of riders, diversity and heterogeneity flourish.

5.6. THE POLITICAL UNCONSCIOUS OF THE HEALTHLINE

It is at this point that I should make clear where we are located in the terms of this analysis. In other words, while we have been operating within the analysis framework as laid out in Chapter 2 for quite some time now, it only now that we will start to attempt to understand its larger meaning outside its function as a public space. In Chapter 4 we articulated a history of Cleveland that took us through the city's changes through the lens of urban planning in the city. This history can be, while this characterization is not unproblematic, thought of as also the history of the tension between two broad categories of vision for Cleveland. I am thinking here of its agenda of development and growth, on one side, and what I will call the agenda of advocacy and equity on the other.

The growth agenda in the city can be seen as roughly conforming to the consensus first articulated in Harvey Molotch's "The City as a Growth Machine" (1976). In his seminal analysis of this phenomenon, Molotoch identifies the "desire for growth" as the "issue that unites the city's local elite groups and separates them from people who use the city principally as a place to live and work"[263]. The make-up of the growth agenda, as I have termed it for the purpose of this analysis, consists of a wide range of elite groups including, but not limited to, business leaders, politicians, the local newspaper, universities, museums, sports teams, and organized labor[264].

This group in Cleveland is augmented by its public and semi-public police forces, non-profit hospitals, philanthropic foundations, and the various community development corporations. However, importantly, my argument is that these groups only exist in relation to one another. The two agendas are identified by their actions, by their pursuit of strategies which either support or undermine the dominant value of economic

[263] Harvey Luskin Molotch, "The City as Growth Machine," in *Urban Fortunes: The Political Economy of Place* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1987), 50.
[264] Molotch, "The City as Growth Machine."

development in Cleveland. In this way, the two groups can in theory be quite fluid. For example, while the planning commission in Cleveland during the 1950's could be considered part of the growth agenda, during its Equity Planning period in the late 1960's through the 1970's it would not be.

The beginning of this growth agenda can be most easily seen in its rise as an industrial power and embodied by the captains of industry with their mansions on Euclid Avenue. The advocacy agenda then begins as a response to the exploitation of residents that coincided with this economic rise, namely the reformist policies and planning vision of Mayor Tom L. Johnson. In this manner, the advocacy agenda is contained within the agenda of growth: a contradiction like in the example of the egg which simultaneously contains itself-as-egg and its negation or destruction[265]. The tension between these two agendas is here given spatial ramifications, specifically, the contradiction between the two begin to be fought out in the production of, and control over, the city's public spaces. During the early 1900's this took the form of the streetcar system, the public parks, and downtown railway station.

Continuing to be viewed through this lens, the rise of the advocacy agenda initiated the first wave of suburbanization in Cleveland, enabling the supporters of the growth agenda to circumvent many these new policies aimed at creating a more equitable city. But the city's position as an industrial powerhouse made it too valuably culturally, economically, and socially to abandon completely. Thus linkages were created, physically via public transit, to connect these first suburbs to downtown Cleveland, while the advocacy agenda produced some of the nation's first public housing. When the city's manufacturing economy began to unravel for real post-WWII, the growth agenda,

[265] Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*.

pursued highly destructive urban renewal strategies which leveled nearly 10 miles of the city's poorest areas to build freeways and high rise office and housing. The advocacy agenda responded initially by defeating the proposed Clark freeway that would have provided a highway connection for Cleveland's east suburbs to downtown.

The most dramatic example of the advocacy agenda's response, however, is the rise of the nation's only example of public Equity Planning in practice. Echoing the populist reforms of Mayor Johnson, equity planners pushed their agenda once again in the area of public transit, this time protecting Cleveland's transit dependent residents from subsidizing transportation projects which primarily benefited suburban users of the city. This meant in general, focusing on public transit over freeways and parking, and more specifically funding buses over rail transit.

The growth agenda, this time fueled by the near collapse of the city's property tax base, initiated a largely pro-business development plan called Civic Vision 2000 Plan. This plan and an economic development-oriented Mayor aggressively pursued downtown redevelopment projects that remade the city's skyline and re-structured the economy to one dependent on service and banking, rather than manufacturing. This left the city with a series of attractive cultural and entertainment amenities for tourists and non-residents, but it also articulated a divide that *The Washington Post* categorized as the difference between "New Cleveland" and "Old Cleveland". This divide is essentially the one being articulated here.

This severely abridged version of city's history is not meant to provide any kind of complete record of these agendas; it is simply designed to show that they exist. Throughout this period, the city's population continued to decline and policy makers began to grapple with ways to attract new residents, but remain responsive to the views of their largely poor constituents. This is not to suggest that these agendas or values are

equally matched. The advocacy agenda as it has affected spatial production in the city has been forcefully repressed (politically) when supporters of its values have ascended to positions of power, as the bitter battles that characterized the mayoral tenures of Tom L. Johnson, Carl B. Stokes, and Dennis Kucinich, as well as the paradigm of Equity Planning, can attest. Those backing an advocacy agenda have done so as a response to the growth-desire side, because, as Steven Litt of *The Plain Dealer* aptly put it, "Cleveland is a top-down city"[266].

The tension between the growth agenda and the advocacy agenda is indicative of a larger conflict between values in the city and in this way can be considered a societal contradiction, one that is continually fought out in the realm of spatial production in the city. More specifically, as the streetcar and union depot wars of the Johnson Mayoral administration, the freeways, subway proposals, and rapid rail network of the post-WWII years, and the bus-focused polices of the equity planners show, often this contradiction is expressed in terms of public transportation.

However, at the heart of these conflicting agendas are even more consequential issues, primarily those of equity. What this contradiction becomes is a signifier of the city's inability to seriously address the societal problems as related to its legacy of systemic poverty: racial and ethnic segregation, a broken school system, and crime. Where these agendas have found resolution is in area of transportation – specifically, public transportation – well short of any attempt to solve broader social concerns.

The development of the HealthLine involved a concerted effort by those valuing economic development in Cleveland. In my discussions with the RTA, the City Planning Commission, *The Plain Dealer*, and City Council members, the HealthLine's purpose

[266] Litt, interview.

was made explicit: it was designed to attract development first, and has done so thus far to varying degrees of success. This was in fact the very condition of its existence, as the federal government scoring system privileged economic development potential over transportation improvement – and even that was measured simply by time savings, ignoring transit infrastructure conditions, price, and access[267]. The reason I was given for this singular focus on economic development was that the city runs on the funds derived from its income tax base. Ridership of the HealthLine is unimportant; success of the project is derived from the surrounding development that results[268].

Meanwhile, the secondary role of the HealthLine would then be the role it serves providing a major transportation improvement to the city's most heavily used public transit corridor. While this goal seems to be a kind of positive externality of its production, it is the one most immediately seen as successful by the people I characterize as part of the city's advocacy agenda: neighborhood groups, community stakeholders, and riders. Thus, at the level of production and purpose, we have articulated a contradiction which sets surrounding economic development against existing ridership.

But this articulation of conflicting agendas goes deeper, and here it is perhaps helpful thinking in terms of de Certeau's theorization of "strategies" and "tactics". The HealthLine in this way becomes a strategy of the growth agenda, not just in its purpose as articulated above, but down to its systems of control and discipline as seen in its method of policing and its relationship to the city's primary consumer spaces. But, far from submitting to these strategies, riders and other residents, through the use of everyday tactics, have worn down the mechanisms of discipline and control and ignored its sign

[267] Litt, "Cleveland's Rebound Rides on the Health Line."
[268] Martin J. Sweeney, Cleveland City Council President In-person, Summer 2012; Kevin Kelley, Cleveland City Councilman In-person, Summer 2012.

system of affluence that accompanies postmodern public spatial production. They have remade it as a community space, a place of political and social discourse and interaction.

Viewed from this perspective, within the space of the HealthLine are the symbolic acts that resolve, for riders and residents on the line, the contradiction between Cleveland's growth and advocacy agendas, a resolution that must take place symbolically because actual resolution of the systemic social contradictions facing the city is impossible. The implications of this as both de Certeau and Jameson argue, is that "ideology is not something which informs or invests symbolic production; rather the aesthetic act is itself ideological"[269]. What for Jameson are aesthetic acts I argue are for de Certeau the practices of the 'everyday', which are seen as insignificant but which are nevertheless infused with meaning. These behaviors, then, are "symbolic" in the sense that they are not done with any intention of resolving Cleveland's systemic social contradictions. Instead, they remain ideological behaviors ("acts" to use Jameson's term, "tactics" to use de Certeau's) and thus "genuine acts in that [they] try to do something to the world"[270].

What viewing the HealthLine through this lens also allows us to see is the tenuous nature of the symbolic resolution it provides. The BRT represents a completely original production (at least in Cleveland) and with it a clean slate, part of the "New" city, but it also brings with it, as the presence of Euclid Avenue Oral Histories kiosks in the stations symbolize nicely, a reaction. According to Dr. Mark Tebeau, the Cleveland State University historian who headed up the oral history project, the stories contained in the kiosks represents an unprecedented outreach into Euclid Avenue's surrounding neighborhoods to gather personal stories and city history[271]. But rather than put these

[269] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 79.
[270] Dowling, *Jameson, Althusser, Marx*, 122.
[271] Mark Tebeau, Professor of History, Cleveland State University In-person, Summer 2012.

kiosks where people might access them, RTA "buried them behind the fare boxes where no one uses them"[272]. In other words, the contradiction of the two ideologies is accessible to a degree even in very spatial production of the HealthLine, but, as this example illustrates, the symbolic resolution it provides also creates the illusion that the contradiction never existed in the first place – or worse, that it only exists in this analysis. But, if we think of this contradiction instead as Cleveland's political or planning history (at least in the reduced form presented here) we have the return of one of postmodern spatial production's most insidious desires, namely its attempt to bracket off, and erase, its referent[273] – in this case the surrounding city and its history of inequality. Of course, this desire is impossible in our case of the HealthLine as the riders themselves are the subjects of the city's often brutal history of repression and abandonment.

By reframing these agendas as ideologies we access and make explicit a political dimension that was previously obscured. This dimension is not only seen in the HealthLine's conceptualization and implementation, but in its functional purpose as public container of the strategies of the ideology of development and the tactics of the ideology of advocacy, as well. Importantly, this political dimension is paradoxical, allowing for resolution only by way of symbolic acts, impotent in the face of real societal change to address issues of systemic poverty, racism, and exploitation.

It is here that we are in a position to leap to the next level of analysis, as the identification of an ideological contradiction puts us in position to rethink once again the level of analysis. Where we can attempt a 're-writing' of the HealthLine at higher level of abstraction is through the lens of social class. If we recall that Jameson's method for delineating social class requires us to grasp them at the same time, in other words, in

[272] Ibid.
[273] Jameson, "Postmodernism, Or, The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism."

relation to one another, we can also see how this class categorization (for Jameson, between dominant and laboring classes) can be determined in our Certeau-ian analysis of the contrast between the strategies of the growth agenda and the tactics of the advocacy agenda. In other words, we already have the framework for what in effect is the relationship between the actions of the dominant class and the reactions of the laboring class.

As elaborated in the methodology section of this study, this presentation of social classes as relationally defined means they are essentially in constant antagonism. But, as Jameson points out, for opposition to exist –from the difference of opinion, to ideological opposition, to, of course, class opposition – there must be a "shared code" that allows the conflict to arise in the first place[274]. This "shared code" is essentially the background (or battleground) which allows for the staging of societal conflict. Our subject, the HealthLine, is spatial, and thus while the case could be made that the staging ground for the conflict of the dominant and laboring classes in the city is Cleveland itself, I believe this to be an unsatisfactory claim. While there is no denying that Cleveland, its political boundaries, its policy structure, et cetera provide a type of code through which to attempt to 're-write' the HealthLine, it is ultimately too diffuse, too broad. If we were to return to our example of language from Chapter 3 and indicate that if two Italians are having an argument, their "shared code" is not Romance Languages (although that gets us partly there) but, more specifically, the language of Italian. In this manner, the city itself only gets us partly there in terms of the "shared code" of the class conflict seen in the HealthLine's.

[274] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*, 84.

Shared code for our purposes here is obviously Euclid Avenue. Once seen in this light we can also see, in a series of dialectical reversals, how the avenue continually stages the city's class antagonisms. In this way, the destruction of Euclid Avenue as "Millionaires Row" is the result of the city's growing public transportation (and, to an extent, housing) demands. But the powerful symbol of a destroyed Millionaires Row, represented by the laying of streetcar tracks on Euclid Avenue comes full circle in our present situation which finds the dominant class (the growth agenda) conceiving of public transportation as a way to return the avenue to its days as site and signifier of the city's wealth. As *The Plain Dealer*'s Steven Litt put it in an interview with the author, "I'd be happy if billionaires lived on Euclid again"[275]. Thus, residents are given public transit, but they must submit to its repressive logic in order to use it – importantly, their remaking of the space (their "tactics") becomes the reactions of the oppressed class.

A cursory look down Euclid Avenue, however, shows we no longer need only stay within the confines of the HealthLine to access this antagonistic class dialogue. According to the *The Plain Dealer*, in the past few years alone there has been "billions of dollars spent on turning the avenue into a spine for the arts, business, education, housing, medicine and research" in order to turn Euclid Avenue into the "main street of the city's new economy"[276]. These developments, justified largely on the grounds of needing to attract the industries and workers of Richard Florida's "Creative Class", often move forward at the expense of the other existing agenda's in the city, of which we have identified the advocacy agenda as primary.

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[275] Litt, interview.

[276] Steven Litt, "Next Decisions on Euclid Project Critical for City," *The Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio, April 7, 2002), Final edition, sec. Sunday Arts.

The story of the first housing built after the HealthLine's completion is illustrative of this point, only through the looking glass the other way. While many in the city's development community had hoped for middle to high income housing, the Cleveland Housing Network, the largest provider of low-income and subsidized housing in the city, announced the development of two properties in MidTown, which was the area seen as most appropriate for new development. Essentially the only area on Euclid not already built out, MidTown is the site of the Health-Tech Corridor (HTC), a county-designated geographic area which receives funding to attract business development. In the case of Euclid Avenue between the Cleveland Clinic and Cleveland State University, this means enterprises in the health and technology sectors. The current development along the avenue is, despite the economic development rhetoric, branding, and official designation, not particularly noticed by riders. The people I spoke to, despite being everyday riders, had never noticed the "HTC" banners on the light poles until I pointed them out to ask what they meant.

However, there are numerous other aspects of Euclid Avenues current development that are highly relevant to current residents. As pointed out to me by the Cleveland Housing Network's Executive Director, Euclid Avenue is the center of Cleveland's public services system. In addition to being the location of two major hospital centers, there is a free clinic, the county's Family and Children's Services office, its Social Services Center, the county Board of Elections, and the Children's Museum, to name just a few. Also, along Euclid Avenue is a discount grocery store, numerous churches, and a retail center. Of course, it is also now the site of the city's most efficient mode of public transportation. In other words, it has also become the perfect location for residents of low-income and publicly subsidized housing.

The Cleveland Housing Network's plan, which included refurbishing two depression-era buildings into Section 8 housing and the construction of new, permanent supportive housing for Cleveland's disabled homeless, was vehemently opposed by the city's business community and neighborhood groups. As articulated in multiple, separate interviews, these buildings were not the kind of development Euclid Avenue, and by explicit extension, Cleveland, needed[277]. As Cleveland's Planning Director Robert Brown explained, the fury was based on the thinking that the HealthLine "was not built for this purpose, only to have people living near it who do not care about it"[278].

This conflict got so heated that Mayor Frank Jackson's office had to step in. Mayor Jackson, himself born and raised in an East Side neighborhood off Euclid, had the message sent out that Euclid Avenue was going to be a place for all people, and the housing developments went forward[279]. But, as my discussions with city stakeholders bore out, there is still a lot of resentment about their construction.

What this conflict unearthed momentarily in Cleveland is a repressed class consciousness. I say repressed, because in most of my talks this situation was explained in terms of race, or, at least in racially coded language. It seems that major public discussions in the city or the county are had in code, which seems to take people off the hook for their racism, but not their classism. As one interviewee explained in frustration, anytime a debate is had over the school system in Cleveland, stereotyping is such that it is now used as a proxy for race. The housing situation on Euclid Avenue, then, was talked about as not wanting "people who have no sense of personal responsibility" living

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[277] Litt, interview; Vickie Eaton Johnson, Executive Director, Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation In-person, Summer 2012; Jim Haviland, Executive Director, MidTown Cleveland, Inc. Phone, Summer 2012; Robert Brown, Director, Cleveland City Planning Commission, interview; Rob Curry, Executive Director, Cleveland Housing Network, interview.
[278] Robert Brown, Director, Cleveland City Planning Commission, interview.
[279] Ibid.

there, et cetera[280]. Race has become such a taboo subject that the Cleveland Clinic recently removed a panorama painting of the city which represented the city's East Side with solely Black people, its West Side with White people, and a mix of both in its downtown after the painting sparked controversy over what was considered its simplistic racial stereotyping[281]. However, the painter is Black and lifelong Clevelander who was not attempting social commentary, simple depicting the city he loved[282].

To return to our initial subject of Euclid Avenue, despite the clear racial implications of these discussions, it speaks to an even deeper source of anxiety in Cleveland. While using racially coded language allows the city's growth agenda members to avoid making obvious any racism on their part, it only makes more obvious their elitist perspective. The coded racism in the city then becomes a way to access the city's classism which is in turn played out in the conflicting imaginaries of Euclid Avenue. For Rob Curry, Executive Director of the Cleveland Housing Network, what the struggle over Euclid Avenue represents is clear to him: "this is about the private sector taking over the city, not about race"[283]. In other words, these issues are about leaving behind Cleveland's poor and working class residents. Social class antagonisms can then be seen as arising out of the growth agenda (represented by the dominant class) and the advocacy agenda (the laboring class) conflict in the city. And it is clear that by re-formulating these agendas in class terms the category of social class in society, though repressed, remains strong as ever.

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[280] Litt, interview.
[281] Joseph Clark, "Our Home Town," *Cleveland Scene*, June 13, 2012, http://www.clevescene.com/cleveland/our-home-town/Content?oid=2988664.
[282] Ibid.
[283] Rob Curry, Executive Director, Cleveland Housing Network, interview.

Therefore we can conclude this second horizon of analysis with an understanding that the identification of the "shared code" of the city unmasks an "unconscious" class conflict in the city between the dominant class which pursues a private sector strategy in terms of Euclid Avenue's restructuring as BRT Corridor and oppressed class of poor and working class users who ignore it to create a community public space that is responsive and relevant to their needs.

This brings us to the final movement of our analysis of BRT in Cleveland, what Jameson terms the "ideology of form". It is here where we take the level of abstraction further in order to look at how the formal production of bus-rapid-transit can provide a way of accessing the content, "the coexistence of the various sign systems"[284], of its mode of production. Before we get to the actual analysis, let us first review what is meant by the phrase. Jameson is defining ideology here as Althusser does, as the "representation of the Imaginary relationships of individuals to their Real conditions of existence"[285]. Setting aside an explanation of his referral to the Lacanian psychoanalytic triad (the Imaginary, Symbolic, and Real), what this essentially means is that ideology is the lens through which society mediates, or attempts to explain, its existence – traditionally thought of as accomplished through philosophy and religion. Crucially, this is an explicit contrast to the traditional Marxian definition of ideology as a strictly negative "false consciousness" used by the dominant class to mask its forms of domination[286]. In the definition used here, ideology is more complex, it can be positive as well as negative.

Form, as it is used here can be equated, as the earlier example of rock music attempted to show, to the concept of genre. In this manner, changes at the generic level

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[284] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.
[285] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 49.
[286] Marx, "The German Ideology."

are the result of changes at other levels and also send out ripples of change themselves, at the same time. To grasp the characteristics of the genre is then the initial steps to understanding the source of the change or anticipate future changes of similar productions, perhaps even both. This double movement can also be thought of in terms of 'positive' and 'negative' and therefore also provide a way of interpreting the phenomenon more completely – in terms of both its positive and negative effects on society, even determining whether its make-up contains progressive or regressive ideas.

To ascertain this is to return, then, to an area only partially developed in the preceding chapters. The BRT in Cleveland, the most complete, realized model of BRT in the United States[287], is itself dominated by two characteristics: fragmentation and nostalgia. The latter is seen in the preceding analysis which showed the ways the HealthLine, exemplary in its use of pastiche, is achieved through a combination of international best practices (Curitiba, Brazil) and the experiential characteristics of Cleveland's previous-era of streetcars, and thus works as a "simulacrum" for true desire of light-rail in the city. The logic of the simulacra, as we have shown, is market-based and this is seen in the desire of city leaders for the HealthLine to function on the current urban economic model of Transit-Oriented Development (TOD), itself rail-based.

The characteristic of fragmentation can be illustrated both conceptually and physically. As a concept, what exactly constitutes BRT is far from universally accepted. For example, transit experts have recently begun lamenting the "big-tent approach" that currently allows cities to essentially call any new bus line BRT in efforts to compete for riders and federal grants[288]. While not explicitly having a hard and fast definition may not seem like a huge deal, it becomes one when considering that BRT is not just meant to

[287] Hudson, "The Commute of the Future."
[288] Holeywell, "Bus Rapid Transit Gaining Traction Despite Concerns."

provide a transit improvement, it is meant to change perceptions and stereotypes about who rides public buses. Thus, the thinking goes, if a city can name any route it pleases 'bus rapid transit', then gaining buy-in from a public that "feels like it's been misled" will become increasingly difficult[289].

The way BRT exhibits fragmentation in its physical design can be seen in our current case study of the HealthLine. The project's center-median stations and bus-only lanes are laid out, not in a standard, uniform arrangement, but in three distinct sections: downtown, midtown, and university circle. Even the coherence of "bus rapid transit" as different from a traditional bus breaks down as it moves east from downtown: the stations go from the center median raised above traffic on a two-foot platform to mere stops along the sides of the roadway, like a traditional bus. This also means the BRT loses its dedicated lane. An outcome of the outcry from University Circle retail property owners who did not want to lose the on-street parking in front of their businesses[290], this was not the only individual consideration made by the RTA on this project. In fact, the RTA ended up holding some 2,000 meetings with Euclid Avenue property owners and residents during the project's design phase, in fact needing to go block-by-block to achieve community consensus[291]. One of the outcomes of these discussions was the setting up of a direct liaison with the agency and the business community which allowed the RTA to address that constituency's complaints and concerns immediately[292]. Another outcome was the construction of a platform-only stop in Fairfax in between two regular stations, which the HealthLine services on Sundays only. This was done at the request of

[289] Ibid.
[290] Schipper, interview.
[291] Ibid.
[292] Jim Haviland, Executive Director, MidTown Cleveland, Inc., interview.

a church on Euclid Avenue to alleviate concerns over the removal of the bus stop close by[293].

While major system concessions were made to University Circle businesses and a church congregation, they were not extended to downtown businesses, many of which went under during the construction phase (a fact which remains a sore spot for residents, arising numerous times in my interviews). But, as one person I spoke with suggested, this was beneficial (maybe even intentional) as it cleared out shaky businesses and has allowed for developers with stronger business plans to begin the next chapter of revitalization in the city. This is no mere detail, but rather typical of the market forces shaping planning ideology which is then borne out in practice. This will be a concern we take up further below.

These characteristics of fragmentation and nostalgia allow us to determine, albeit a bit hastily, that the US-version of the BRT is representative of the larger shifts of society characterized by postmodernity that we have outlined in chapters above. In this way, the BRT is un-systemic, fragmented; and the result of a plurality of discourses as opposed to a single, dominant narrative. It is planned, constructed, and even operated in piecemeal fashion in direct contrast to the transportation planning of the modernist era exemplified in the subway and freeway systems. It is low-impact and small-scale. In other words, in the form of bus rapid transit we can see the postmodern or late capitalist mode of production at work. As an aside, and to preview where we are heading in the closing discussion section, High Speed Rail developments and the desire for city-wide light rail, then, would represent the traces of a modernist planning thought which still remains in contemporary planning practice.

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[293] Vickie Eaton Johnson, Executive Director, Fairfax Renaissance Development Corporation, interview.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Discussion

I would like to conclude my inquiry into the meanings of the Euclid Avenue HealthLine by continuing the discussion of what its form, bus rapid transit, can further tell us about contemporary city planning ideology as well as discuss a potential framework for thinking about what all of this means, for not just Cleveland and public space, but for planning and society as well.

Before we move into the discussion section proper I think it is necessary to briefly review the interpretive ground that we have covered thus far. In the first level of analysis we looked at the way two political agendas emerged in relation, and in opposition, to each other in Cleveland. As a result, imprinted on the new spatial production of BRT in Cleveland (the HealthLine) are the strategies of economic development and the tactics of everyday spatial practices that characterize these competing ideologies, roughly categorized as the growth and advocacy agendas in the city. In this manner, the growth agenda's strategies have produced militarized, market-based "hyperspaces" that, in the case of the Healthline, are nevertheless overcome by the tactics of everyday riders who have remade it as an important community space of those advocating and asserting their needs and desires as users. As a result, in addition to being considered the container for both these ideologically-based strategies and tactics, the HealthLine provides for the symbolic resolution between these two conflicting agendas – symbolic because, while it represents a very real improvement in the city, it does not attempt to address the systemic issues that lie at the heart of the difference between them.

The identification of this conflict, which gave a specifically political dimension to the space of the HealthLine, signaled our movement to the next horizon of interpretation, which rewrote the terms of development and advocacy into those of a social class

contradiction between the city's dominant and oppressed classes. In Cleveland, these classes are unified in the importance they assign to Euclid Avenue. The avenue then became the shared code through which we reread a repressed history of class conflict in the city. This affirms Jameson's theorization of postmodernism outlined in Chapter 2: it is through cultural analysis – in our case of the HealthLine – that investigations of societal phenomenon in postmodernity must initially begin. Therefore, rather than the politics of difference, of gender, race, and sexual orientation etc, eradicating the usefulness of class analysis in postmodernity, it instead has served to push class conflict underground, where it remains as part of society's "political unconscious"[294].

The HealthLine's "ideology of form", as Jameson refers to it, represented the final horizon of our interpretative analysis. It was here, then, that we began to attempt to discern what BRT as not just a form of public transit, but as public space produced under a strategy informed by the logic of postmodernism can tell us about the changes continually underway in cities. We saw how the HealthLine contained elements of nostalgia and fragmentation that we also, following Jameson's theorizing, found characteristic of postmodernism as a style and historical period in society.

However, this analysis is incomplete. As mentioned above, the "ideology of form" requires an additional abstracting, or a scaling up, of analysis to attempt to account for both the positive and negative variations of the form. To clarify the task, what a positive reading of the ideology of form reveals is the desire for collectivity that is contained in even the most regressive political activity, because it represents the attempt to imagine a society in which everyone shares its values, in other words a classless society[295]. Jameson considers this allegorical for what he terms, "the desire called

[294] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.
[295] Ibid., 291.

Utopia" and reframes the analysis in terms of a dialectic between ideology and Utopia[296]. Where this reframing takes on importance for our study can be seen when we consider BRT a strategy of postmodern city planning, specifically of its current dominant paradigm, New Urbanism. However, considering the far-reaching ramifications of such an analytical goal, what follows should be thought of as the first broad brush strokes of a larger work deserving of further study in the future.

6.1. NEW URBANISM, PLANNING IN POSTMODERNITY, AND UTOPIA

It is here that we leave the BRT itself behind to pursue its mode of production, in which we have identified characteristics of fragmentation and nostalgia. But, rather than hastily jumping to the conclusion of it as a representation of postmodernity, we must first examine how it is representative of New Urbanism, the "leading" planning paradigm of this postmodern era[297]. Positioning itself as the reaction against the megaprojects and cold, impersonal spaces of modernism, New Urbanism seeks to return planning to the human-scale, to create community via design, and orient the urban form back to the street[298]. Its conceptual roots lie in the scale and content of the medieval European city as well as the ideal form of Ebenezer Howard's Garden City. Another way of thinking about it is as urban historian Robert Fishman aptly phrases it, "New Urbanism is the result of the unexpected synthesis of Jane Jacobs and Ebenezer Howard"[299].

Its explicit appeal to the content and form of past urban patterns of development should lead us, in this fashion, with broad strokes to begin to sketch a dialectic of planning ideas. Correspondingly, an excavation of the traces of each mode of production

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[296] Ibid.
[297] David Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, California Studies in Critical Human Geography 7 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000).
[298] Fishman, "New Urbanism."
[299] Ibid., 65.

present in New Urbanism might begin with the formation of Medieval European cities under feudalism. It meets its negation in "Classical Planning" of the 19th Century: street grids based on Euclidean geometry (for example, New York City's Commissioner's Grid and Cleveland), and most dramatically, the literal negation of medieval Paris by the radiating boulevards of Haussmann's restructuring, now the spaces of the recent bourgeois - capitalist effacement of the urban fabric of a city formerly ruled by its feudal masters. Even within this Classical movement however, was a nostalgic strain, traces of the feudalism, typified by Camillo Sitte, who remained rooted in the cities of medieval Italy to maintain a planning based on "artistic principles" (played out in the planning of Vienna and also in plan of Barcelona by Ildefons Cerdà). Importantly, during this era planning also becomes infused with the bourgeoisies' market-based ideology, and it is now continually used as a tool of the ruling class to rationalize and manage city functions and populations[300].

However, classical planning becomes absorbed and negated within full-scale industrial capitalism and modernist planning. Modernism introduces planning to an explicitly Utopian way of thinking, a collective ideology, as well as the oft-discussed disregard for existing urban or rural landscapes consisting of technocratic plans of high-rise housing and freeway networks. Using our current framework then, emerging out of Classical Planning, the Garden City becomes an anticipatory form of decentralized planning (only, instead for the modern suburb), while City Beautiful is the form containing the nostalgia for Classical planning and its early industrial, bourgeois goals. But while modernist planning and design sought to break completely from past ideas, it still contained an element of nostalgia: the influential architectural theories of Hendrik

[300] James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*, Yale Agrarian Studies (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 1998); Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity*.

Berlage which sought to maintain relationships of human scaled buildings to the street, not to mention modernism's retention of the grid and radial street plan geometry of Classical Planning.

Postmodern planning in postmodernity, embodied by New Urbanism, can, in the way we have described it above, be thought of as absorbing and negating modernist planning: it includes elements of it while simultaneously canceling out everything about it. How it is able to accomplish this can be seen if we restate New Urbanism in terms of Fishman's definition: a synthesis of Ebenezer Howard (a utopian idea) and Jane Jacobs (an anti-utopia critique). What we have then is the negation of what was itself a negation: essentially a return to Classical city planning influenced heavily by the Medieval European city form, retaining both the utopian desire from the modernists and the ideology of the market/ruling class from the Classical period, (as New Urbanism's almost-was title of "neo-traditionalism"[301] revealing already suggested). But, we have moved at a breakneck pace to arrive at this conclusion, and it is one which requires a much deeper working through, as this is not the only contradiction apparent in the dominant postmodern planning paradigm (again, which we have reduced in the interest of space to New Urbanism).

In his critical investigation of urban utopias, Spaces of Hope (2000), geographer David Harvey sees both a positive and a "dark side" to the transformative utopian vision of New Urbanism, referring to utopianism in the negative, and the critique of it in the positive (essentially a reversal of Jameson's characterization). He thus applauds the movement's call to think regionally about a range of issues from transportation to ecology, which he sees as an explicit "reject[ion]" of postmodernist fragmentation[302].

[301] Fishman, "New Urbanism."
[302] Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*, 169.

New Urbanism's refocusing of planning on long-ignored facets such as the neighborhood, history, place making, and tradition are a much welcomed reversal of Modernist trends which had destroyed many these presumed building blocks of urban life[303].

However, the movement's emphasis on "community" is problematic, making its "founding ideology…both utopian and deeply fraught"[304]. As he rightly notes, appeals to community are often based on regressive, not progressive, social goals: exclusion rather than inclusion, leading to "surveillance, social controls, and repression"[305]. In other words, communitarianism is more often a barrier to societal change, rather than a catalyst. Thus, if the New Urbanist Utopia is ever to be realized, it "must embed its projects in a restrictive set of social processes"[306]. And, as we have called attention to earlier, because planning, architecture, and urban design are so closely linked to land development markets, these restrictions are inevitably based on economics.

This reversion to economic segregation backed up by a systemic social control should now sound familiar, as it is the framework we laid out initially for the characterization of postmodern public space. We have now moved full circle in our analysis. We can understand the logic behind public space productions in contemporary society, of which the HealthLine is one, as containing the ideology of the planning paradigms that have arisen from postmodernity. In this way, the spatial productions of New Urbanism are marked by a sorting of users based on economic status backed up by a repressive security apparatus; traditional public spaces are now seeing this very same logic embedded in their production. Of course, this is not a causal relationship, and

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303 Harvey, *Spaces of Hope*.
304 Ibid., 170.
305 Ibid.
306 Ibid., 171.

proving its cause is not the aim of this study, it has simply put us in a better position to understand, and uncover, the relationship itself. However, this conclusion is ultimately unsatisfactory, for as we found in the everyday tactics of HealthLine riders who have overcome the strategies of the dominant class in Cleveland to remake the space for their purposes, we have not accounted for the agency of people interacting with the overarching strategies of planning, and indeed late capitalism itself. This after all is the true spirit of simultaneously positive and negative interpretation of the same phenomena that Jameson calls for in his dialectic of ideology and Utopia.

In order to see how we might begin to accommodate this requirement, let us return to Harvey's critique of utopian spaces and processes. Fundamental to Harvey's analysis is the identification of a contradiction in the development patterns of cities which "is justified by appeal[ing] to the rhetoric of free-market competition when it in practice relies on state subsidy and monopolization"[307]. The "free-market utopianism" that lies at the heart of recent urban spatial production, mainly the mutual dependency of the private sector on state power, is not the result of planning per se, but of the economic paradigm of neoliberalism. This paradigm relies on a surface veneer of open, free-market rhetoric antagonistic to state regulation and intervention, but nevertheless requires state coercion to guarantee access to markets and protect corporate hegemony around the globe[308].

We do not need to strain much to see that neoliberalism has direct impacts on planning, as well, especially if we subsume neoliberalism as one of modes of production of late capitalism, or postmodernity. Reframed as such, we can see the same recurrent market logic backed up by state security, but with an important nuance. Neoliberalism relies on ideological strategy seemingly impervious to the traditional "unmasking" line of

[307] Ibid., 181.
[308] Ibid.

attack of modernist (i.e. Marxist) criticism. In other words, to take planning as an example, market influence and domination is freely acknowledged, representing parameters that, in order to get things done, are simply worked within, rather than opposed. Thus, the "wisdom of public-private partnerships is now unchallenged"[309] and explicitly elitist approaches (the competition among cities to attract Richard Florida's "Creative Class" can be seen as paradigmatic here) are pursed with zeal by progressive and conservative planners alike, effectively delegitimizing class-based dissent[310].

As Michael Gunder argues in "Planning as the ideology of (neoliberal) space", even communicative or collaborative citizen planning, the traditional method planners have been trained to deploy to avoid privileging powerful interests in the process, has been largely co-opted by "government and private sector pro-development interests"[311]. This has been accomplished by the fragmentation of the city-wide planning process to community-specific debates. Thus, "by particularizing and making locally contestable what have traditionally been universal demands of class based on equity and fairness, politics/antagonism is negated and…other struggle defused, marginalized, or simply outright ignored"[312]. Neoliberalism then has exploited planning practice's solution-driven approach, using communicative theory as a way to lubricate the neoliberal economy, and in particular the real estate markets, rather than an effective way to include ordinary citizens in the process[313].

We are now in position to see how the strictly negative conceptualization of ideology is unsatisfactory. After all, society is not merely believing in something that is

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[309] Michael J. Dear, *The Postmodern Urban Condition* (Oxford, UK ; Malden, Mass: Blackwell, 2000).
[310] Michael Gunder, "Planning as the Ideology of (neoliberal) Space," *Planning Theory* 9, no. 4 (November 1, 2010): 298–314, doi:10.1177/1473095210368878.
[311] Ibid.
[312] Ibid.
[313] Ibid.

false or untrue, it is knowingly doing so. In other words, the Marxist desire to only 'unmask' class domination in the activity of society is useless if afterwards society simply prefers the mask. These conditions are accounted for in Slavoj Žižek's (re)definition of ideology as, "they know very well in their activity they are following an illusion, but still they are doing it"[314]. This characteristic is what he believes to be the new form, termed "cynicism", ideology has taken in postmodernity. Jameson explains how cynicism works to the advantage of neoliberalism and the dominant classes:

> What we call cynical reason is simply the empty ideology that accompanies the practices of profit and money making, and that has (and needs) no content to disguise itself.… Cynical reason is simply this recognition, and it is therefore a new form of ideology.… It is not disguise and rationalization, but rather clarity and frank acknowledgment.… Big business, the so-called ruling class, has projects and ideologies: political plans for future change, in the spirit of privatization and the free market. But the mass of people who either desperately need money or are in a position to make some and to invest, do not themselves have to believe in any hegemonic ideology of the system, but only to be convinced of its permanence.[315]

Does this not perfectly describe the current situation in planning (architecture and urban design, also for that matter)? We are thus continually told of the inevitability of market-based planning: public-private partnerships, the competition for the members of the "Creative Class", transit-oriented development, etc. It all 'works' whether we believe in it or not. Thus, market-based planning theories are "grounded in reality" while class-based ones are silenced and marginalized and its supporters are forced to assist development interests in the "facilitation game" that artificially limits choice among residents and citizens[316].

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[314] Terry Eagleton, *Ideology: An Introduction* (London ; New York: Verso, 1991), 40.
[315] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 229.
[316] Dear, *The Postmodern Urban Condition*; Gunder, "Planning as the Ideology of (neoliberal) Space."

In this way, we can retain Harvey's characterization of neoliberalism as a strategy to create "free-market utopia" but not his implicit call to dismiss it, and other such desires, because they are utopian. If we were to retain his entire framework, we distort our analysis to the point where critique itself is the only positive response in opposition to Harvey's negative category of utopian desires themselves. Using New Urbanism as an example we can see the danger when this framework is worked through in practice. If we recall our reformulation of Fishman's description of the paradigm as the combination of Utopia (Howard's Garden City) and anti-Utopia (Jane Jacobs' critique of modernist planning) we can see that what has happened is the reposing of a New Urbanist Utopia based on just that synthesis of critique and utopian desire. The result is an inherently conservative (backward looking, oppositional) structure which retains neither the propelling force of the Howard's original utopian idea of the Garden City nor the ideological potency of Jacobs' critique of modernism. It becomes the perfect copy without an original, a planning strategy based on the logic of the simulacrum. As we have shown, this logic is susceptible to co-optation by the market's ideology of overt cynicism, which has the added consequence of stifling further theoretical development in the field from existing outside of the market system.

This is just the kind of synthesis rejected by Jameson, which he finds, provides a "spurious resolution" to the contradictory content of Utopian impulses[317]. This is the reason why instead of opposing Utopia with critique, we have, following Jameson, placed at opposite poles ideology and Utopia. But, instead of synthesizing these two concepts via combination, what Jameson proposes is to grasp them simultaneously by realizing they share the same impulse. In other words, all utopian formulations are ideological and

[317] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 179.

within all ideology lies a utopian desire[318]. We have shown above what the current dominant ideology does and how it works so there is no need to repeat. But, what bears clarifying is that it is in the way ideology betrays a class consciousness – whether dominant or oppressed – that makes it an allegory for a Utopia in which class conflict is eliminated, in other words, a desire for a classless society[319]. Thus, we are able to resolve this contradiction, not by synthesis, but by understanding that both regressive and progressive social goals (i.e. ideologies) are in themselves utopian, and furthermore, anti-Utopian critiques can then be through of as representative of the same impulse as the Utopia it rejects[320].

6.2. PLANNING AND THE "DESIRE CALLED UTOPIA"

It seems here that whether this line of argument is convincing or not, now rests on the benefits of utopian thinking. Or in other words, why, given the terrible mistakes made in the name of following this utopian idea or that, should we continue to attempt to do so? But this is itself a mistaken line of questioning, one in which David Harvey himself appears caught up in. What I mean by this boils down to what Žižek explains in the psychoanalytic notion of "drive", and more specifically in the Lacanian distinction between goal and aim: the goal being the final destination while the aim is how we get there, or "the way itself"[321]. The only purpose of our drives are to reproduce themselves, pleasure is thus derived from the way itself, not reaching the goals, which is why as soon as one goal is attained we immediately seek to replace it with another. Where this becomes of interest here is when it is paired with the paradoxical nature of "desire"[322]. As

[318] Ibid., 171.
[319] Jameson, *The Political Unconscious*.
[320] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 177.
[321] Slavoj Žižek, *Looking Awry: An Introduction to Jacques Lacan Through Popular Culture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991), 5.
[322] Ibid.

Žižek points out, unlike drives, desire must be constructed by the subject, the way this happens is through the identification of a "lack" or incompleteness[323]. Desire is also circular, which means that the realization of it does not "consist in its being 'fulfilled'… it coincides rather with the reproduction of desire as such"[324].

In this manner, the line of reasoning that says utopian ideas have led to huge mistakes and therefore we should cease following them, "mistakes the searching and indecision proper to desire [for] what is, in fact, the realization of desire"[325]. But, Utopia itself has a much more important role to play in this formulation. We mentioned that desire must be constructed, which is done through the subject's identification of a "lack". But on this point Žižek provides an important way of understanding Lacan's framework, essentially explaining the concept of lack as that of fantasy, or the "conceiving of a scenario that realizes the subject's desire" (importantly, it is not in the fulfillment of a fantasy that constitutes desire; rather the scenario itself is, in fact, the realization of desire)[326]. To be more explicit, "it is only through fantasy that the subject is constituted as desiring: *through fantasy, we learn how to desire*"[327] (italics in original).

It is in this manner that Jameson finds the concept of Utopia essential, rather than outmoded, because through imagining Utopia we learn how to desire a better society. The benefit of utopian conceptions is found in their ability to not only imagine alternative ways of living, but because they are necessarily ideological, to cancel each other out, providing for, in effect, the staging of society's many desires[328]. Then, just as Žižek

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[323] Ibid., 8.
[324] Ibid., 7.
[325] Ibid.
[326] Ibid.
[327] Ibid., 6.
[328] Jameson, *Archaeologies of the Future*, 176.

showed fantasy conception to "stage the desire as such" of the individual subject, utopian thinking accomplishes this on the societal level.

Now, where this has important implications for our current discussion of planning in postmodernity requires us to recall our earlier discussion of the cynicism of postmodern ideology. In our characterization we have described planning as currently co-opted by a neoliberal, development agenda. This agenda purports to be total, inevitable and in this way is able to marginalize any opposition to its market strategies as unrealistic, or not based on how things work in the "real world". However, as Jameson explains:

> The Utopian form itself is the answer to the universal ideological conviction that no alternative is possible, that there is no alternative to the system. But it asserts this by forcing us to think the break itself, and not by offering more traditional picture of what things would be like after the break.[329]

What utopian thinking, or as Jameson phrases it, "the desire called Utopia", offers planning is not just an ability to stage its desires, but a *method* with which to identify, critique, and adapt other political, social, and economic ideological strategies. By working through the conflicts present in opposing ideological utopian conceptions, we are presented with a way through the problem of representation that characterizes postmodern thought, as we can begin to "map" the utopian strategies at play – the important thing being the recognition of the current dominant ideological paradigms as such, not closed systems out of which there is no escape.

Finally, we can now perhaps use this final horizon of analysis, the ideology of form, to anticipate the next movement in planning, namely, the progression away from this nostalgic period into one whose forms and solutions are attempts to represent the present, rather than reproduce the past. That after all, is the reason for, and essence of,

[329] Ibid., 232.

planning, anticipation not reaction. The way forward is thus contained within the paradigmatic, simulacral space of New Urbanism itself. Relationally, New Urbanism offers the conditions of possibility for a radical, avant-garde movement in planning, one which is self-consciously, rather than cynically, ideological - explicitly because it adopts a critical opposition to New Urbanism. What is beneficial about New Urbanism then, is that it allows for the identification of an opposition to it, to its neoliberal ideology and production of urban space which, for reasons this study has attempted to explicate, seem inauthentic. Thus, a space of agency is opened within the mechanism of totality, which, in the exact manner of the everyday tactics of de Certeau, exposes the futility of the current market system, and any system for that matter, to contain society's desire for a better one.

6.3. THE HEALTHLINE, EUCLID AVENUE, AND THE DESIRE FOR A BETTER CITY

To conclude, let us return to the HealthLine, which we can now reframe in its function as the staging ground for the desires as such of the growth and advocacy agendas (or the dominant and laboring classes) in Cleveland. Those pursuing the strategies of the growth agenda see the HealthLine as a tool in their desire to see the city, and Euclid Avenue, generate economic development. Members of the city's advocacy agenda see Euclid Avenue and the Healthline as the perfect locations for their tactics to make Cleveland a more equitable place, or at the very least a place where the poor, the disabled, the working class, are not left behind and forgotten. Both of these agendas are in pursuit of goals which they believe will make Cleveland a better place, a better city.

The HealthLine, as it currently exists is the symbolic resolution of these agendas. It represents a major transportation improvement over the former traditional bus line, in terms of speed and reliability, but also in terms of improved service provision,

conditions, safety, and access. In other words, it takes people from their homes to more jobs, services, and entertainment than before, and in much nicer fashion. Far from being just a way to and from work, the HealthLine works on a social level as well as a purely functional one.

At the same time, the growth agenda has used the HealthLine as a shining example of how the city is emerging as a center of the new economy. Since it broke ground nearly $6 billion has been invested in development projects along Euclid Avenue. In a city which has suffered through decades of population loss and bad economic news, the HealthLine and Euclid Avenue represents a dramatic turn of events, as the system, and even the city itself, is being held up as a national example for other cities to follow.

What this critical study of the HealthLine has attempted to show is just how tenuous this resolution is. While the system currently serves both agendas, the heavy influence of market-based strategies on planning and other institutions charged with making land use decision in the city should give those who believe the city is a place for everyone, regardless of purchasing power, pause.

For now, like most of Clevelanders I spoke with, I also believe the HealthLine and the "rebirth" of Euclid Avenue is something to be celebrated in the city. However, I celebrate it for its function as the stage of fantasy in the city, one of many that make accessible the struggle over who the city is for, and how its resources should be used. Crucially, what we can take from the HealthLine is not a nostalgic fantasy, one which dreams for a Cleveland that once was, but for one that might be.

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